



This material has been provided by Asbury Theological Seminary in good faith of following ethical procedures in its production and end use.

The Copyright law of the united States (title 17, United States code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyright material. Under certain condition specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to finish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specific conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be *“used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research.”* If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of “fair use,” that user may be liable for copyright infringement. This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law.

By using this material, you are consenting to abide by this copyright policy. Any duplication, reproduction, or modification of this material without express written consent from Asbury Theological Seminary and/or the original publisher is prohibited.

Contact

B.L. Fisher Library
Asbury Theological Seminary
204 N. Lexington Ave.
Wilmore, KY 40390

B.L. Fisher Library’s Digital Content
place.asburyseminary.edu



Asbury Theological Seminary
205 North Lexington Avenue
Wilmore, Kentucky 40390

800.2ASBURY
asburyseminary.edu

**THE INDIVIDUAL AND HISTORY
IN A SYSTEM OF GRACE
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LIFE AND THOUGHT
OF FRIEDRICH ADOLPH LAMPE (1683-1729)**

by

Daniel Warren Forman

A Thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment

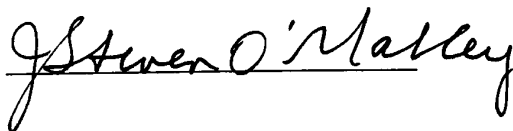
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Theological Studies

Asbury Theological Seminary

August 1995

Approved

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Steven O'Malley". The signature is written in a cursive style with a horizontal line underneath the name.

**THE INDIVIDUAL AND HISTORY
IN A SYSTEM OF GRACE
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LIFE AND THOUGHT
OF FRIEDRICH ADOLPH LAMPE (1683-1729)**

by

Daniel Warren Forman

A Thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Theological Studies

Asbury Theological Seminary

August 1995

Copyright 1995

Daniel Warren Forman

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

This paper is dedicated to the memory of my mother,
Carol Dee (Cornell) Forman (1934-1991).
"Thanks Mom for encouraging me to further my education."

This paper is also dedicated to future students of Pietism,
and of the Covenant tradition.
"May God bless you in your endeavors."

I would like to thank my wife, Lori, and my children,
Daniel James, and Elizabeth,
for their patience during the writing of this paper.
"I love you all, thankyou."

I would also like to thank Alana Sheldahl
for all of her help in translating primary source material.
"I'm so glad your German was better than mine. Thanks."

Finally, I would like to thank Dr. J. Steven O'Malley
for being my friend and mentor,
and for all of his assistance during this project.
"Thankyou, and God bless you."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I		
The General Introduction		
<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
	Forward	1
I.	The Problem and Its Setting	2-33
	Introduction to the Problem	2-3
	The Statement of the Problem.....	3-4
	The Sub-problems	4-5
	The Delimitations	5
	The Definition of Terms	5-12
	The Assumptions	12-13
	The Importance of the Study	13
	The Methodology	13
	Review of Related Literature	14-33
	Sources Related to Lampe's Historical and Theological Background	19-21
	Sources Related to Lampe's Theology	21-33
PART II		
Lampe's Historical and Theological Setting		
	Introduction	34
II.	The Obscurity and Misinterpretation of Pietism and Its Proper Definition	35-42
	The Reasons for Obscurity	35-38
	The Charges Against Pietism	38-41
	Pietism's Proper Definition	41-42
III.	The Historical Context	43-65
	Pietism Narrowed	43-45

	The Relevant Elements in the History of Germany	45-49
	The Relevant Elements in the History of the Netherlands	49-55
	Relevant Controversies	55-65
	The Arminian Controversy	55-59
	The Cocceian-Voetian Controversy	59-65
IV.	The Schools of Influence	66-104
	The Reformed Tradition	66-73
	Cocceianism	73-88
	Reformed Pietism	88-104
	Jadocus van Lodensteyn	88-93
	Theodor Untereyck	93-104
V.	Lampe's Biographical Data	105-124
	Lampe's Early Life and Education	105-110
	Lampe's Early Life	110-114
	Lampe's Career in Holland	114-117
	Lampe's Move Back to Germany and His Later Ministry	118-121
	Synthesis and Summation	121-124
PART III		
Lampe's System of Grace		
	Introduction	125-128
VI.	System A -- The Eternal Covenant Partnership	
	The First "Essential"	129-174
	The First "Essential" The Pre-Temporal Covenant Its Existence, Design and Purpose	129-139
	Comparative Analyses and Additional Contributions to Lampe's First "Essential"	139-174

	A Comparative Analysis with John Calvin	139-150
	A Comparative Analysis with Johannes Cocceius -- Part One	151-154
	A Comparative Analysis with Johannes Cocceius -- Part Two	155-174
VII.	System A -- The Eternal Covenant Partnership	
	The Second "Essential"	175-238
	The Second "Essential" The Covenant of Works, The Fall, The "Federal Principle, and The Covenant of Grace -- Introduction	175
	The Covenant of Works and The Fall	175-180
	The Federal Principle	180-185
	The Universal Effects of the Fall	185-193
	The Covenant of Grace and One's Appropriation of It	193-215
	Comparative Analyses and Additional Contributions to Lampe's Second "Essential"	215-237
	A Comparative Analysis with John Calvin	215-222
	A Comparative Analysis with Johannes Cocceius	222-237
VIII.	System B -- Election	238-269
	Election: Its Existence, Design and Purpose	238-249
	Comparative Analyses and Additional Contributions to Lampe's Doctrine of Election	249-257
	A Comparative Analysis with John Calvin	249-253
	A Comparative Analysis with Johannes Cocceius	253-257
	Synthesis and Summation	257-269

PART IV
Lampe's Eschatology

Introduction	.....	270-271
IX. Lampe's Seventh Stage In History and The Conclusion	.....	272-332
A Review of Lampe's Divisions of History	.....	272-276
Lampe's Periodization of the Whole of History	.....	274
Lampe's Periodization of the New Testament Church	.....	274
Lampe's Seventh Period of History	.....	276-319
Synthesis and Conclusion	.....	319-332
Appendix I	.....	333-337
Appendix II	.....	338-339
Bibliography	.....	340-353

PART I

THE GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In order to present adequately the subject matter of this paper, this work has been divided into four parts. The first part is the general introduction, where the topic is introduced and this paper's methodology explained. Part two provides the historical and theological background for the persons and issues involved in the discussion of the thesis; and part three presents the primary formulations involved in addressing the thesis issue itself. Finally, Part four represents the closing elements within the thesis topic, and the final arguments for the importance of this study.

With this said, and the broad structure of this paper before us, we now turn to the thesis problem and its setting.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

Introduction to the Problem

Friedrich Adolf Lampe (1683-1729) is an obscure theologian in history. This is partly due to the fact that he focused on a practical, or pietistic, expression of his theological constructs, rather than on a speculative one.¹ Yet this does not mean that Lampe did not produce important insights for theology. For example, Lampe held a unique balance between Reformed soteriology and Cocceian historical methodology. Specifically, Lampe's balance involves holding a tension between the inherent determinism within Calvin's doctrine of election and the humanistic progressionism within Cocceius' concept of the divine-human covenant partnership. Now, when one combines this balance with Lampe's concern for a practical pietistic ethic, then one finds Lampe's true genius coming forth from obscurity like a flower in the desert. For his theological blend produces a practical call for human response and Christian obedience within a theological system of soft determinism and progression.

However, when observing such a "theological blend", one discovers several questions. First, if everything is determined by God, or "contained" in God, then how can one make a practical or pietistic call for human responsibility within grace? In other words, does one really have a role to play within the appropriation of salvation? Second, there are those questions concerning an individual's role within history, and the role of history within the individual. For in Cocceianism, which is half of Lampe's "blend", both scripture and history are "contained", or "uniformed", in Christ. Yet they are "progressive" and/or "developmental" on the basis of creation -- for the creation event revealed development as a component of God's covenant intentions with humanity. Now, since history and scripture are contained in Christ, and yet are progressive; and since all individuals are within history and the cosmic covenant process; and

¹ The adjective "pietistic", and all other pertinent terms, are defined under the "Definition of Terms" portion of this chapter, found on pages 5 ff..

since, by definition of the term covenant, an individual believer is a "partner" in the covenant relationship; then it appears as if the individual plays a role in the progression of history. Thus, the questions that arise here are these: Since the entire progression of history serves to reveal Christ in his fullness, and one must be a covenant partner to fit into the progression of history, then, when one appropriates Christ, does he or she advance the progression of history?

Moreover, if all of history reveals Christ in his fullness, then does not one appropriate all of history, when appropriating Christ? And, if Christ is for our salvation, then is not history for the full revelation of that which provides salvation? In other words, does history play a role in our salvation like we play a role within its progression?

At this point, it must be reiterated that these questions are only possible within the Cocceian idea of progressive covenant, which primarily understands the individual as having to either accept or deny God's covenant terms as revealed through scripture and history. Now, in regard to Lampe, one must ask how the possibility of such questions can coincide with his high deterministic tendencies.² More specifically, one must ask: If covenant thought, and deterministic thought can be held together, then in light of such a tension and inherent contrast, how can one really play any role in history, and in one's own salvation? And how can history play any role in one's appropriation of Christ? When one discovers the system which allows these questions to be formulated and resolved, then one will have surely discovered the full essence of Lampe's "theological blend."

The Statement of the Problem

The aforementioned questions, serve as the foundation to this thesis. However, the issue raised by those questions is formulated in a more concise manner in the following "statement of the problem":

² It will be shown later in this study that Coccejus himself held to a tension between high determinism and covenant obligation on behalf of the individual believer. But for the sake of introducing all of this, this writer has chosen to focus upon Lampe's maintenance of this tension.

Does Friedrich Adolph Lampe (1683-1729) understand an individual as having a role within one's own salvation and in universal history; and if so, how can he do so while maintaining a high Calvinist predeterminism?

The Sub-problems

The first sub-problem. The first sub-problem is to identify Friedrich Adolph Lampe, and the theological genre to which he contributed. Also, involved in this is the need to establish a brief historical context in respect to earlier influences upon his life.

The second sub-problem. The second sub-problem is to identify Lampe's understanding of how an individual comes to appropriate the work of Christ, and how it relates to universal history. In other words, Lampe's understanding of salvation must be addressed. Involved in this is the identification of Lampe's understanding of the divine-human covenant plan, his implementation of what this writer calls, the "system of parallels," and his unique order to salvation.

The third sub-problem. The third sub-problem is to define and discuss Lampe's understanding and periodization of history. Here Lampe's use of the "prophetic-symbolic" method of scriptural exegesis, and its role in his understanding of history, will be fully identified.

The fourth sub-problem. The fourth sub-problem is to identify Lampe's understanding of the eternal covenant partnership, and compare it to John Calvin (1509-1564) and Johannes Cocceius [or Coccejus (1603-1669)]. These comparisons will show Lampe's faithfulness to pre-Dortian Reformed soteriology; and will point out the nuance of his adherence to the post-Dortian covenantal thought of Cocceius. In short, these comparisons will assist us in defining Lampe's "theological blend".

Due to the broad nature of this issue, and its inter-relatedness to the previous sub-problems, this issue will be discussed simultaneously with sub-problems two and three.

The fifth sub-problem. The fifth sub-problem is to identify fully Lampe's eschatology. Since Lampe understands history as progressing to a final stage; and since this progression may

relate to an individual's progression in personal salvation; then it is appropriate that we present Lampe's eschatological views, and examine their relation with his complete system.

The Delimitations

This study will mention those "streams" of thought that helped in formulating Lampe's position in an abridged fashion, and only as they directly relate to the particular aspects of the thesis statement.

This study will not attempt to make an complete appraisal of Lampe's systematic theology as presented in his *Geheimnis des Gnadenbundes*. However, the two fundamental elements of his thought, the concept of covenant and election, will be examined in detail.

The Definition of Terms

Calvinism. This is the school of thought named after John Calvin. Moreover, it relates to an expression of theology that is presented in Calvin's primary work, The Institutes of the Christian Religion. More specifically, this expression of theology primarily puts forth the doctrines of total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, the irresistibility of grace, and the final perseverance of the saints (or T.U.L.I.P. theology). However, traditional Calvinism, or that truest to Calvin's own expression, places the doctrine of double predestination, or unconditional election and limited atonement, under soteriology (This term is defined later.), rather than under the doctrine of God. This allows the for the doctrine of predestination to be less rigid.

Calvinistic or Reformed. These adjectives correspond to the form of theology defined under the term Calvinism.

Cocceianism. This term identifies a school of thought named after Johannes Cocceius. This expression of theology holds primarily to the Reformed doctrines, yet integrates a concept of progressive covenant in an attempt to define more fully the divine-human relationship. Furthermore, this school of thought understands Adam to be a federal representative for all of

humanity (See the definition for "federal principle".); and formulates this relationship in such a way as to see all of history in a covenant pattern that is primarily equivalent to the personal covenant pattern within the divine-human relationship. (The key tenets of Cocceianism will be presented in Part II of this paper.)

"Containment". This term corresponds to the reality that all things are contained in God. Particularly, it relates to the beginning and closing parameters of a concept. For example, history is contained in that God stands before and after it.

Conventicles. Conventicles are study classes in personal piety. Such classes include catechization, bible study, prayer, and pastoral admonitions and encouragement for spiritual growth.

Covenant of Grace. From the Cocceian and Lampean perspective, this is the post-fall agreement that God made within himself and to humanity to graciously provide for the salvation of the chosen through the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ. This covenant is the second half of the eternal covenant of grace.

Covenant of Redemption. This is the term used to describe the pre-temporal internal covenant among the members of the Trinity. It is where the Father and the Spirit agree to send the Son for the salvation of the chosen.

Covenant of Works. From the Cocceian and Lampean perspective, this is the pre-fall agreement between God and Adam in his integrity, "in which God promised life to humanity under the condition of an ongoing obedience to the law, and threatened death if there was a transgression against that law."³

Determinism or Predeterminism. These terms identify a deistic approach to theology. In other words, these terms recognize that all things have been decided by God before time, and there is nothing that creation can do to change past, present, and future events.

³ Friedrich Adolph Lampe, *Geheimnis des Gnadenbundes*, vol. 1, (Bremen: Philip Gottfried Saurmann, 1712), 7.

"Development" or Progression". This term corresponds to the movement of revelation within the containment of God. For example, though creation was contained in that it was started and completed in a set duration, creation still progressed over seven days within those parameters.

Dortian Calvinism or High Calvinism. Dortian Calvinism refers to an expression of Calvinism that was formulated at the Synod of Dort in 1618. This expression of Reformed theology places the doctrine of predestination under the doctrine of God. Thus, producing a view that sees election as stemming from a decree of God, and that only; and understands that such a decree takes place before the foundation of the world. Moreover, Dortian Calvinism, places this decree as first in the order of theological study. Thus, all other theological issues fall beneath its canopy. In short, Dortian Calvinism holds to a strict view of supralapsarianism (This term is defined later.), and sees supralapsarianism as the central doctrine for the whole of theology.

Election. The decree of God that determines who will be saved. To some, this decree is placed prior to creation, and is a double decree in that God chooses both the elect and the reprobate. To others this decree is placed after the fall and only corresponds to God's choosing of the elect.

Entire System of Grace. This is the title given to Lampe's full system of salvation. It includes his understanding of the covenant of redemption, election, the eternal covenant partnership, the person and work of Christ, the periodization of salvation history, and its consumation. In short, it includes System A and System B (See the definitions of these terms below.).

Eschatology. Eschatology is the study of the end times, or the culmination of history; or the doctrine of last things.

Eternal Covenant of Grace. This title corresponds to God's entire action with humanity. It is considered as beginning with the pre-temporal covenant of redemption between the Father and the Son, as encompassing both the covenant of works and the covenant of grace, and as continuing into humanity's glorified state.

Eternal Covenant Partnership. This title is primarily synonymous with the eternal covenant of grace, but the emphasis is on the everlastingness of the divine-human covenant relationship.

Federalism or Covenant Theology. Federalism and Covenant theology mean essentially the same thing as Cocceianism. Though Federalism or Covenant theology did not originate with Cocceius,⁴ it did find its fullest expression with him. Hence, for our purposes, Federalism, Covenant theology and Cocceianism will be used interchangeably at times throughout this paper.

Federal Principle. The federal principle is used to express the relationship between Adam and the rest of humanity as being one of a representative nature, instead of as a paternal one. Even so, the federal principle does not deny Adam's realistic paternal connection; rather it simply emphasizes his legal situation within the covenant of works.

First "essential". This is the title that this author has given Lampe's understanding of the existence, design, and nature of the pre-temporal eternal covenant, or the covenant of redemption among the members of the Trinity.

Heilsordnung. This German word means "order of salvation", or "salvation order"; and it corresponds to seven steps that Lampe understands as being involved in one's appropriation of salvation.

Historic Pietism. This relates to a broad religious movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. It emphasised personal ethics and spiritual maturation, or the striving for Christian perfection, as well as church reform. There were many different groups within this movement (i.e., Lutheran pietism, Reformed pietism, and Radical pietism), yet they all shared these primary concerns. Thus, historic Pietism does not correspond to one particular group, but rather to the entire movement. In addition, this term does not lean on the vogue nineteenth century interpretations of Pietism, rather it relates to Pietism as defined by a broader historical

⁴ See footnote #24 in chapter IV of this paper.

evaluation. Hence, occasionally, this term is synonymous with "true" Pietism, and/or "proper" Pietism.

Humanism or Humanistic Progression. These terms correspond to the idea that claims that history can progress to a utopia, or to a state of universal peace and enlightenment on the basis of human effort alone. In respect to Christianity, and from a post-millennial view of the return of Christ, one could define these terms as meaning that the actualization of the Millennium is produced by human moral effort, and by philosophical enlightenment. In short, humanism or humanistic progression leaves Christ and/or the will of God out of the progression of history. Thus, on the one hand, when viewed without Christianity, atheism and agnosticism are the primary "belief" structures that correspond to the concepts being presented here. On the other hand, when viewed with Christianity, Deism is the primary "belief" structure present.

Infralapsarianism. This is the view that understands election as taking place after the fall; and sees God's action as rooted in foreknowledge rather than on the basis of a strict decree.

Lutheran Pietism. This is historic Pietism that holds to the Lutheran view of theology.

Mutability. This is a part of humanity's created nature that allows for change. This principle, not freedom, "is the aspect of man as created which involves the possibility of sin."⁵ Moreover, it allows Cocceius and Lampe to hold humanity responsible for sin, and to see sin as a break in the divine-human relationship, while still seeing sin as a part of God's covenant progression with humanity.

Ordo Solutis. This term is the Latin equivalent for *Heilsordnung*.

Pietistic. This attributive adjective is given to those things that correspond to the tenets of historic Pietism. For example, if one's ministry is pietistic, then that means that one's ministry emphasizes church reform, personal ethics and spiritual maturation, and primarily uses the ministerial tools of catechization and conventicles to achieve the aforesaid emphases.

⁵ Charles Sherwood McCoy, The Covenant Theology of Johannes Cocceius, Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1957 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1965), 265.

Pneumatology. Pneumatology is the study of the Holy Spirit, or the study of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Practical. For our purposes, this adjective will be synonymous with pietistic.

Predestination. This term is synonymous with "election".

Radical Pietism. Radical pietism represents any group of persons who stressed the tenets of historic Pietism, but sought separation from Lutheran or Reformed orthodoxy. Moreover, Radical pietism also corresponds to any group that over-emphasized the reformational and ascetic tendencies of historic Pietism.

Reformed Pietism. This is historic Pietism that holds to the Reformed view of theology.

Revelatory Reciprocity. This term identifies a concept which sees that which is revealed as always pointing back to its origin. In addition, this term relates to the concept which understands all aspects of revelation as corresponding with each other. Hence, for example, if creation is part of God's revelation to humanity, and history is part of God's revelation to humanity, then creation and history will not only point back to God, but they will in some way point to each other as well.

Salvation History. This term will at times correspond with cosmic history, or the temporal progression of the eternal covenant partnership.

Scholasticism. This is a form of theology that develops its constructs around the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. Moreover, it focuses on the use of reason or dialectics in the discourse of theology; and its formulations are mostly speculative or non-practical. Thus, scholasticism, as it existed in Holland around the time of Lampe serves as the major opponent to historic Pietism.

Second "Essential". This is the name that this author has given to the temporal side of the eternal covenant partnership. In other words, this term includes and absorbs the covenant of works, the fall, the federal principle, and the covenant of grace.

Sevenfold System of Parallels. This term identifies Lampe's use of a sevenfold sequence (which he formed from an analogy with creation) in all parts of the eternal covenant partnership.

Primarily, this term identifies the parallel between Lampe's *Heilsordnung* and the seven periods of world history, and of the seven periods in the New Testament Church.

Soft. This adjective emphasizes a non-radical, or a moderate approach to theological issues. For example, if one is said to hold to a doctrine soft determinism, then this means that one holds to a balance between predeterminism and a synergistic motif in the divine human relationship.

Soteriology. Soteriology is the study of the active and passive obedience of Christ; or the study of the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ.

Supralapsarianism. This is the view of election that understands God as choosing both the elect and the reprobate prior to creation. This view, as presented in this paper, does not see God's actions as based in any foreknowledge, but solely on the basis of his will.

Synergism. This term corresponds to a view that sees God and humanity as working together within history and salvation. The adjective "synergistic" concurs to this definition as well.

System A. This is an abbreviated title that this author has given to Lampe's understanding of the eternal covenant partnership, which includes both the first and second "essentials".

System B. This is an abbreviated title that this author has given to Lampe's understanding of election.

System of Grace. Depending on the context of the discussion, this term can either identify System A or B. Furthermore, this term is at times synonymous with the term "entire system of grace." However, this usage is rare.

System of Parallels. This is the title that this author has given to the idea which says that all aspects of revelation have the principles of "containment" and "development". For example, creation is contained in seven days, and yet it progressed over, or within, those seven days. Likewise history progresses from our perspective, but is contained within God's perspective. Now, despite the different perspectives, both creation and history share the two principles. In

addition to all of this, the system of parallels relates to the "containment" and "development" within each "unit" of Lampe's theological system.

"Unit". This is the name that this author has given to each component within Lampe's eternal covenant scheme. The pre-temporal covenant of redemption, as revealed in scripture is a "unit"; creation is a "unit"; scripture is a "unit"; history is a "unit"; and the individual is a "unit".

The Assumptions

The first assumption. If Lampe's position is not understood properly, it could present itself as a humanistic view of the progression of history. For if the emphasis is placed on what *a person* does within the progression of the covenant partnership in history, rather than on *Christ himself*, then there is produced a view that sees good deeds and human effort as the key to the progression and consummation of history. Furthermore, if Christ is removed from the progression of history, then there is no threat of judgment. For if Christ is not needed to advance history, why is he needed for its conclusion? Hence, the only logical place history can be moving to, is a utopia, powered by human rationale and endeavor. This conclusion is obviously not that of Lampe's; yet by tilting his Christ/Human/History equation in the direction of the "Human", one can easily arrive at such a position.

The second assumption. If Lampe's Calvinism is misconstrued and emphasis is placed only on God's sovereignty and the divine plan involving election through Christ, then one could arrive at the conclusion that an individual has no role in the progression and consummation of history -- for every thing is predetermined in the first place. This could produce a fatalistic attitude and a lack of concern for the movement of history and the furthering of God's church on earth. This is also not the conclusion that Lampe's holds or desires.

Therefore, since it is assumed that neither of the above positions are held by Lampe, and yet, as will be seen, he holds both aspects within his thought, then the key to understanding Lampe must be to understand his balance between these given presuppositions.

The third assumption. It is this author's primary assumption, that the key to finding Lampe's balance rests in his use of the "system of parallels", and a parallelism with the seven step sequence of creation.

The Importance of the Study

This study is important and justified for the following reasons: (1) It will provide a fresh awareness of a very important, yet obscure, theologian. (2) In identifying one of Pietism's most obscure individuals, we will also produce a broader awareness to the importance of doing further study in the area of historic Pietism. (3) In examining Lampe's system of grace, we will grapple with issues concerning the problem of evil, and the difficulties concerning human freedom. Though these issues may not be fully resolved (and may never be), there is validity in the struggle, and there are unique insights to be gained from the Cocceian and Lampean approach to these issues. (4) In addressing the key points in Lampe's theology, we will present a viable approach in understanding the role of an individual within world history, or universal salvation history; and will give a veritable position in maintaining the balance between human responsibility and divine sovereignty.

The Methodology

This study will employ two methods of evaluation simultaneously. First, this study will use an analytical method, whereby each sub-problem will be looked at in detail. However, sub-problems two, three and four, will be looked at together under one examination.

The second methodology to be employed is that of comparison. When examining sub-problems two, three and four, each point within Lampe's system of grace will be compared, or comparatively analyzed with John Calvin and Johannes Cocceius. This will firmly establish Lampe's traditional views, and help identify his particular nuances.

Review of Related Literature

It is ironic that Friedrich Adolph Lampe is considered by some as the greatest theologian in the German Reformed Church of the eighteenth century,⁶ and yet not much has been written about him. The only works dedicated solely to Lampe are Otto Thelemann's *Friedrich Adolph Lampe, Sein Leben und seine Theologie* (1868),⁷ and Gerrit Snijders' *Friedrich Adolph Lampe* (1954).⁸ The first, as one can tell from its title, is in German, while the other is in Dutch. Unfortunately, there has been no critical analysis of Lampe's full theology produced in English.

Thelemann divides his work into two parts; dedicating the first part to biographical information, and the second to Lampe's theological positions. Though Thelemann's coverage of Lampe's personal history is thorough, his review of Lampe's theology is not fully adequate.⁹ Snijders, on the other hand, gives more attention to theological details, though no particular theme is focused upon. Hence, ultimately, Snijders ends up under the same review of that given to Thelemann.¹⁰

Even though Snijders and Thelemann are the only authors that dedicated complete works to Lampe, there are many nineteenth and twentieth century works that have devoted some portion of their content to him. Most of these works are on historic Pietism, or on some aspect of the

⁶ This thought by Max Goebel is found in: James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church of Germany 1620-1890* (Reading: Daniel Miller, 1894), 374-375.

⁷ Otto Thelemann, *Friedrich Adolph Lampe, Sein Leben und seine Theologie* (Bielefeld and Leipzig: Belhagen and Klasing, 1868).

⁸ Gerrit Snijders, *Friedrich Adolph Lampe* (Harderwijk: Drukkerij Flevo v.h. Gebr. Moorij, 1954).

⁹ F. Ernest Stoeffler in his book *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century*, states that "Thelemann's work does not constitute a critical study." See: F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century*, Studies in the History of Religions, vol. 24 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 228, footnote #2.

¹⁰ At the time of writing this paper, this author was not able to read Dutch. However, these conclusions concerning Snijders are based on discussions with Dr. J. Steven O'Malley of Asbury Theological Seminary. Furthermore, these conclusions are based on the deduction that Stoeffler, who is considered a leading expert in the field of German Pietism, wrote his book *German Pietism* almost twenty years (1973) after Snijders' work (1954), and yet made no mention of any work that was more critical than Thelemann's.

movement, and include some portion dedicated to Lampe because of his identification as a Reformed Pietist.

The nineteenth century "classics in the field", who give extended room in their works to Lampe, are: J. I. Good (1894), Max Goebel (1852), and Albrecht Ritschl (1884-1886). Good's History of the Reformed Church of Germany 1620-1890 presents Lampe within the context of the history of the Reformed Church in Germany, and the development of pietism during the eighteenth century.¹¹ Goebel places Lampe within the context of the history of the "Rheinish Westphalian" Evangelical Church, and the spread of Pietism in north-west Germany.¹² And Ritschl reviews Lampe within the history of Pietism in general.¹³ Each one of these authors provides a quick, yet thorough, review of biographical data; and a brief, yet sufficient, coverage of Lampe's primary works. Furthermore, each one, of course, spends time in showing how Lampe played a major role in the particular topic of their discussions. Overall, Lampe is cast in a positive light by Good and Goebel, though Ritschl seems to treat Lampe as prosaic.¹⁴ This treatment of Lampe, by Ritschl, as well as his liberal treatment of Pietism as a whole, has had a large effect on the ongoing theological community. This is so because Ritschl's work was the first to present an extensive study on the "full scope" of pietism and its proponents. Thus, he became known as the "authority" on this issue. Major contemporary thinkers have picked up on Ritschl's views (i.e. Barth), and therefore, the last century has seen Pietism treated with some disdain, and has rarely heard of Lampe, if at all.

¹¹ See bibliographic information in footnote #6 above.

¹² Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christliche Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Coblenz: Karl Bädcker, 1852-1862).

¹³ Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 3 vols. (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1880, 1884, 1886).

¹⁴ This was brought forth in a discussion with Dr. O'Malley in 10/93. Stoeffler provides some insight to why Ritschl came to view Lampe in this way, when he states: "He [Lampe] tried earnestly to avoid all technical terms and to put even the most profound concepts into a linguistic form which would be meaningful in the local churches. Because of this Lampe was never given the credit which he deserves by professionals in the field." Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 228. Brackets mine.

In the last fifty years there has been a resurgence in the study of Pietism. (Perhaps two world wars and the end of enlightenment thinking has resulted in this development.) In light of this, the current experts in the field of Pietism have begun a new and fresh, yet critical, analysis of the movement. They have done so by being aware of past biases, and by placing the older works deeper under the scrutiny of the original sources.

Some primary examples of these modern works in Pietism, that have some portion of their text dedicated to Lampe, are: J. Steven O'Malley's Pilgrimage of Faith The Legacy of the Otterbeins¹⁵ F. Ernest Stoeffler's German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century,¹⁶ and Rise of Evangelical Pietism,¹⁷ and W. R. Ward's The Protestant Evangelical Awakening.¹⁸ O'Malley's book focuses on the history of the Herborn traditions as received by the Otterbein family; the Otterbein's implementation of Herborn Pietism and the Heidelberg Catechism in their ministry; and the communication of these traditions to the Middle Colonies through Philip Wilhelm Otterbein. What is important to our study is that O'Malley dedicates a chapter of his book to the "streams of Reformed Pietism" present in the theological formulations of the Herborn tradition. In this chapter, O'Malley makes a link between Lampe and the Herborn academy by pointing out that "a compendium of the writings of Lampe and Vitringa was the principal theological textbook in use at the Academy."¹⁹ Furthermore, O'Malley gives a brief, yet detailed, description of how Lampe's practical soteriology and his seven step *Heilsordnung* fit into the traditions of the Heidelberg Catechism and the contemporaneous covenantal thought present in the Herborn tradition. Moreover, in the process of achieving these objectives, O'Malley supplies a full

¹⁵ J. Steven O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith: The Legacy of the Otterbeins (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1973).

¹⁶ See bibliographic information in footnote #9 above.

¹⁷ F. Ernest Stoeffler, The Rise of Evangelical Pietism, Studies in the History of Religions, vol. 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965).

¹⁸ W. R. Ward, The Protestant Evangelical Awakening (Cambridge: University Press, 1992).

¹⁹ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 76.

translation of the seven steps in Lampe's order of salvation. Hence, this source provides our study with Lampe's understanding of how one appropriates salvation.

In addition to the above source, O'Malley also has produced an unpublished text, entitled "Wayfaring and Warfaring: Pietist Sources on Discipleship and Sanctification Influential in Early German-American Evangelicalism."²⁰ This text, which is expected to be published by the end of 1995, develops the motif of holiness as it is represented by several key figures within historic Pietism. O'Malley covers Radical and Reformed sources; and as representative of Reformed Pietism, he dedicates a chapter to Lampe. In this chapter, O'Malley begins by presenting biographical data, and by expounding what was presented in his Pilgrimage text. In addition to all this, he points out the eschatological dynamic within Lampe's view of one's appropriation of salvation. Finally, O'Malley closes this chapter by providing a lengthy translation of Lampe's understanding of perfection and holiness. Hence, this work provides us with original source material and helps us make the link between Lampe's comprehension of the individual, and that person's role within the progression of salvation and history.

Stoeffler's book, German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century, is most likely, the best source on German Pietism. This work covers all branches of historic Pietism, and discusses the central individuals within each camp. Under his chapter on Reformed Pietism and Neo-Pietists, Stoeffler provides a few pages on Lampe. Here Stoeffler supplies primarily the same information that O'Malley gives in the biographical and theological review portions of his Wayfaring and Warfaring text. However, Stoeffler does not go into as much detail as O'Malley. Yet, even though this chapter is limited, it still provides unique insights to how Lampe fits into the overarching development of historic Pietism. Particularly, Stoeffler stresses how Lampe successfully fuses Cocceian federalism with the ethical concerns of Pietism.²¹ Hence, for our study, we find in Stoeffler added details concerning Lampe's "theological blend."

²⁰ J. Steven O'Malley, "Wayfaring and Warfaring: Pietist Sources on Discipleship and Sanctification Influential in Early German-American Evangelism," photocopy, 1992.

²¹ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 226-227.

As seminal as the aforementioned work is for studies in German Pietism, Stoeffler's earlier work, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, is just as important for the study of Pietism throughout the whole of Europe. For this work discusses the historic birth and development of Pietism and its inter-relatedness with English Puritanism and Reformed orthodoxy. Hence, though this work does not specifically dedicate any portion of its text to Lampe, it does serve well for developing our historical and theological background for him.

The next modern source that treats historic Pietism objectively, and without the "Ritschlian bias" is W. R. Ward's book, The Protestant Evangelical Awakening. In this work, Ward describes the development of continental pietism, along with its counterparts, and their effect on Protestantism in the rest of Europe and America in the eighteenth century. Though he only devotes a few pages to Lampe, these few pages give detailed information concerning the congregations Lampe served. Thus, we are able to glean further insight into Lampe's pastoral and pietistic concerns, which serve as half of his "theological blend."

The sources above represent major works in historic Pietism that either mention Lampe directly, or speak directly to his historical situation (i.e., Dutch Reformed Pietism). However, there are several other related sources that may be major works in Pietism, but do not directly mention Lampe or his particular situation; or may discuss Lampe and Pietism, but are not considered major works; or may discuss the theological positions that Lampe held, but do not mention Lampe or Pietism at all. In any case, the best way to review such works are to categorize them according to the major divisions of this paper, and to show how they correspond to the major sources just given. In addition, since the remainder of this review will follow the structure of this paper, Lampe's own writings will be introduced under the heading of those sources that directly relate to his theology.

*Sources Related to Lampe's Historical and Theological Background*²²

Dale Brown's Understanding Pietism²³ represents a primary work in the study of historic Pietism. However, there is no focused study on its Reformed aspects, or any mention of Lampe. Specifically, Brown's work defines the movement's major emphases as being rooted in Philip Jakob Spener's *Pia Desideria*²⁴ and his use of conventicles. However, according to Stoeffler, Good, and much historical evidence, Spener's work really represents thoughts and practices that were first evident in Reformed circles.²⁵ Hence, as Brown builds his work around the Lutheranism of Spener, we indirectly find further details concerning Reformed Pietism and the ecumenism of the entire movement. And all of this, of course, provides added support to Lampe's historical and theological background.

In presenting Lampe's biographical data we will draw from the data found in Goebel's work, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche* (The History of Christian Life in the Rhein-Westphalian Evangelical Church). However, this work will only be used as a supplement to Good's book, History of the Reformed Church of Germany 1620-1890, because Good presents the same biographical data on Lampe as that found in Goebel, but does so in English.

In formulating the theological setting behind Lampe, we must discuss the primary aspects within Cocceian theology -- for Lampe was a firm adherent to this school of thought. Therefore, we will review Charles S. McCoy and J. Wayne Baker's book, Fountainhead of Federalism.²⁶

²² All sources are presented in alphabetical order.

²³ Dale W. Brown, Understanding Pietism (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978).

²⁴ Philip Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans., and ed., Theodore G. Tappert (N.p.: Fortress Press, 1964).

²⁵ See pages 43-45 below.

²⁶ Charles S. McCoy and J. Wayne Baker, Fountainhead of Federalism Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenantal Tradition (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1991).

This book traces the development of federal theology, beginning with Bullinger, and ending with Cocceius; and in the chapter dedicated to Cocceius, McCoy and Baker present, what this author calls, five Cocceian "approaches" to theology. These five aspects of Cocceian thought will latter be shown to fully coincide with Lampe himself. However, they are presented early in the paper to establish a theological frame in which to view Lampe as the study continues.

Even though Gerrit Snijders' Dutch dissertation was unavailable to this author, Snijders' German article, "*Friedrich Adolph Lampe, ein deutscher reformierter Theologe in Holland*" ("F. A. Lampe, A German Reformed Theologian in Holland")²⁷ was available. This article gives specific details concerning Lampe's professorship at the University of Utrecht. Thus, when this article is put together with Good's chapter on Lampe, we form a complete biographical history, since Good focuses on Lampe's ministry and influence in Germany, and Snijders focuses on Lampe's ministry and influence in the Netherlands.

The primary outline for developing the historical and theological setting behind Lampe comes from Stoeffler's Rise of Evangelical Pietism. Stoeffler Starts his study out by showing that Pietism has often been misinterpreted. Next, he sets out to define it properly, and to show how its true tenets were historically formed. More specifically, he provides a thorough observation into the Dutch and German connections within the development of Reformed Pietism, and shows how Reformed Pietism formed the base for historic Pietism as a whole. Now, our historical study will primarily follow Stoeffler's approach, for we will first properly define historic Pietism; then show how historic Pietism, as properly defined, fits into the Reformed tradition. Then we will examine the Reformed tradition and historic Pietism in light of pertinent elements in the histories of Germany and Holland; and consequently form the full historical and theological context for Lampe -- for Lampe was a Reformed Pietist who served in both Germany and Holland.

In developing the relevant elements within the history of Germany, our study will glean important information on the Thirty Years' War from Joseph R. Strayer and Hans W. Gatzke's

²⁷ Gerrit Snijders, "*Friedrich Adolph Lampe ein deutscher reformierter Theologe in Holland*," *Hospitium Ecclesiae Forschungen zur bremischen Kirchengeschichte* vol. 3 (1961): 85-92.

work, The Mainstream of Civilization.²⁸ though this is a general world history text book, it provides a short, though well written and detailed, description of the events surrounding the Thirty Years' War. Moreover, it presents data concerning the war's psychological impact on the German people, which plays highly into Lampe's pastoral concerns.

In concluding our formulation of Lampe's historical and theological background, we will present Lampe's personal biographical data. As stated earlier, this biographical data will include information from Goebel, Good and Snijders, but we will also add data from Thelemann's Friedrich Adolph Lampe.²⁹ Thelemann offers an excellent biographical survey of Lampe's life; and though this survey is primarily repeated in Good, the latter does not repeat many of the details surrounding Lampe's education. Hence, we will supplement Good's biographical sketch with Thelemann's data on Lampe's education in Bremen.

Finally, in completing our alphabetical list of sources related to Lampe's historical and theological background, we must once again mention Ward's work, The Protestant Evangelical Awakening. As stated earlier, Ward provides detailed information on Lampe's ministries in Germany. However, Ward also provides data on radical groups that brought a negative name to the Pietists. Thus, our study will not only borrow from Ward for biographical information, but for evidence to show why some have misinterpreted historic Pietism.

*Sources Related To Lampe's Theology*³⁰

As noted earlier, one of the methods to be used in presenting the data in this study, is that of "comparison". Each aspect of Lampe's theology, as reviewed in this study, will be compared to Calvin, and then to Cocceius. When comparing Lampe to Calvin, we will use the Institutes of the

²⁸ Joseph R. Strayer and Hans W. Gatzke, The Mainstream of Civilization 3rd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979).

²⁹ See footnote #7 above.

³⁰ All sources are presented in alphabetical order.

Christian Religion³¹ for the latter's theological positions. Particularly, we will focus on book three of Calvin's Institutes. For throughout book three, Calvin offers some thoughts on the concept of covenant while presenting his complete soteriology and pneumatology. Moreover, in chapter nineteen of book three, he deals with the issue of human freedom, and in chapters twenty-one through twenty-five, Calvin deals with his understanding of election. Therefore, since these issues will be raised when reviewing Lampe's theology, we will look toward these references accordingly.

When comparing Lampe to Cocceius, we establish the latter's theological positions through references to his "*Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei with Praefatio*," and his *Summa theologiae ex scripturis repetita with Praefatio*."³² However, since these Latin sources were unavailable to this author, all references to these works are made through translated citations in Charles S. McCoy's doctoral dissertation, The Covenant Theology of Johannes Cocceius.³³ In this work, McCoy presents a complete survey of Cocceius' covenant concept. Specifically, he develops Cocceius' understanding of the pre-temporal covenant; the system of divine-human covenants, covering the covenant of works and the covenant of grace; and the relationship between the eternal covenant, or the eternal decree, and the progression of history. Since, Lampe is primarily Cocceian in his theology, this source will be drawn from heavily when reviewing and comparing Lampe's complete system of grace.

While comparing Lampe to Calvin and Cocceius, we will also look to Paul Helm's article, "Calvin and the Covenant: Unity and Continuity,"³⁴ and Anthony A. Hoekema's article, "Calvin's

³¹ John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. F. L. Battles, Library of Christian Classics, vols. 20+21 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960).

³² Johannes Cocceius, "*Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei with Praefatio*," (hereafter cited as *Foed*) in Johannes Cocceius, Opera Omnia Theologia, Exegetica, Didactica, Polemica, Philologica 3rd ed. 10 vols. folio. (Amsterdam: P. and J. Blaev, 1701), vol. 7. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa theologiae ex scripturis repetita with Praefatio*," (hereafter cited as *Summa Theo*) in Opera Omnia, vol. 7.

³³ See bibliographic information in footnote #5 above..

³⁴ Paul Helm, "Calvin and the Covenant: Unity and Continuity," The Evangelical Quarterly 55, no. 2 (April 1983): 65-81.

Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace."³⁵ Both of these articles discuss the evidence of the concept of covenant within Calvin's writings, and the relationship that such evidence has with the later formulations in Federalism. Hence, not only will these articles help us in understanding Calvin's own theology, but they will help us see how his covenant position relates to the later covenant thought of Cocceius and Lampe directly.

The two primary sources that will be used in acquiring Lampe's theological understanding, are his *Geheimnis des Gnadenbundes* (The Secret of the Covenant of Grace),³⁶ and *Milch der Wahrheit* (The Milk of Truth).³⁷ The latter work represents Lampe's full commentary on the *Heidelberg Catechism*.³⁸ In fact, the *Milch der Wahrheit* follows the exact organization as the *Catechism* itself; for the primary articles of the Reformed faith are divided into fifty-two sections, dedicated to each Sunday of the year.

In this study, the *Milch der Wahrheit* will be used to help establish points in Lampe's understanding of salvation. However, it will only be used as a supplement to Lampe's *Geheimnis*.

The *Geheimnis des Gnadenbundes* is Lampe's major work in German. In its six volumes, it represents Lampe's complete systematic theology. Volume one is Lampe's general introduction to the covenant of grace; and volume two discusses the covenant of grace under the time of the patriarchs and God's promise to the children of Israel. In volumes three and four (or vols. 3.1 and 3.2), Lampe speaks about the covenant of grace under Moses and the time of the law. Volumes five and six (or vols. 4.1 and 4.2) present Lampe's understanding of the covenant of grace under the time of the Gospel and the New Testament Church.

³⁵ Anthony A. Hoekema, "Calvin's Doctrine of the covenant of Grace," *The Reformed Review* 15, no. 4 (May 1962): 1-12.

³⁶ Friedrich Adolph Lampe, *Geheimnis des Gnadenbundes*, 6 vols. (Bremen: Philip Gottfried Saurmann, 1712-1719).

³⁷ Friedrich Adolph Lampe, *Milch der Wahrheit, nach Anleitung des Heidelbergischen Catechismi* (Bremen: Diedrich Meier, 1787).

³⁸ *The Heidelberg Catechism*, (1563; reprint, Cleveland: United Church Press, 1963).

Since the *Geheimnis* represents Lampe's complete theology, it is crucial that we thoroughly understand its content; and since the brief review above does not adequately serve this purpose, the following table of contents, which has been organized and translated by the author, is provided:

**THE TABLE OF CONTENTS
FOR
VOLUME I
(1712)**

CHAPTER (<i>Hauptstück</i>) I	..... p. 1-25
Concerning, in general, the covenant of God and its diversity and appropriation; as well as concerning the covenant of grace and its parts and utility in general:	
CHAPTER II	..... p. 26-77
Concerning the first part of the covenant of grace -- the triune God:	
CHAPTER III	..... p. 78-116
Concerning the second part of the covenant of grace -- the fallen sinner:	
CHAPTER IV	..... p. 117-163
Concerning the first cause of the covenant of grace -- the purpose of grace:	
CHAPTER V	..... p. 164-203
Concerning the second cause of the covenant of grace -- the sufficiency of the Son of God:	
CHAPTER VI	..... p. 204-222
Concerning, in general, the restraints of the covenant of grace:	
CHAPTER VII	..... p. 223-266
Concerning the "powerful call" as the first benefit of the covenant of grace:	
CHAPTER VIII	..... p. 267-354
Concerning beatific (or saving) faith as the second benefit of the covenant of grace:	
CHAPTER IX	..... p. 355-422
Concerning the beginning of conversion or the rebirth as the third benefit of the covenant of grace:	
CHAPTER X	..... p. 423-470
Concerning justification as the fourth benefit of the covenant of grace:	
CHAPTER XI	..... p. 471-577
Concerning sanctification as the fifth benefit of the covenant of grace:	

CHAPTER XII p. 578-638

Concerning "sealing" (*Versieglung*) as the sixth benefit of the covenant of grace:

CHAPTER XIII p. 639-712

Concerning glorification as the seventh benefit of the covenant of grace:

CHAPTER XIV p. 713-752

Concerning the actual establishment of the covenant of grace:

CHAPTER XV p. 753-800

The true nature of a servant of the New Testament -- an inaugural sermon on II Cor. 3:5+6 -- delivered at Bremen on the 10th of November, in the year 1709

INDEX p. 801 ff.

**THE TABLE OF CONTENTS
FOR
VOLUME II
(1716)**

CHAPTER I P. 1-41

Concerning, in general, the contemplation of the ways of God: Also concerning the necessity and manner of such contemplation:

CHAPTER II P. 42-92

Concerning the True Church as the "subject" (*Unterwurf*) of all the ways of God:

CHAPTER III P. 93-126

Concerning the agreement of doctrinal teaching in all the periods of the Church:

CHAPTER IV P. 127-158

Concerning the testaments of God as the first source of all the changes in the Church (*Veränderungen*):

CHAPTER V P. 159-187

Concerning the model of all the chief changes of the Church, which is given in the creation of the world:

CHAPTER VI P. 188-206

Concerning the names, which are attributed to the changes of the Church, and particularly concerning the names of the economies:

CHAPTER VII P. 207-224

Concerning the most suitable division of the economy of God:

CHAPTER VIII P. 225-257

Concerning, in general, the history of the Church under the economy of the promise, and how in it everything takes place according to God's deliberation:

CHAPTER IX P. 258-268

Concerning how the foremost particulars of the "history of the promise" have their connection to Christ/Christianity (*Christum*):

CHAPTER X P. 269-352

Concerning the examples/patterns of the "history of the promise," and particularly concerning those which pointed toward the person of Christ and the purchase of salvation:

CHAPTER XI P. 353-412

Concerning the examples/patterns of the "history of the promise" by which the reception of the New Testament Church and the appropriation of salvation (are) referred to:

CHAPTER XII P. 413-440

Concerning how the history of the "Patriarchs" (*H. Ertz-Väter*) can be used for a reflection of change within faith:

CHAPTER XIII P. 441-482

Concerning the revelation of the teaching of grace, just as it took place in the time of the promise:

CHAPTER XIV P. 483-538

Concerning the heavenly theology which is particularly contained in the first promise:

CHAPTER XV P. 539-568

Concerning the faith of the Patriarchs before the flood and particularly concerning the prophecy of Enoch:

CHAPTER XVI P. 569-596

Concerning Lamech's hope in his "rest giver" (*Ruhegeber*) and comforter in every hardship in life:

CHAPTER XVII P. 597-625

Concerning Noah's blessing and curse, which he made known to his sons and descendants:

CHAPTER XVIII P. 626-648

Concerning the promises which came to pass with the three chief fathers of the Jewish people, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob:

CHAPTER XIX P. 649-690

Concerning how Jacob could have been killed in the confession of faith at Shilo and the salvation of the Lord:

CHAPTER XX P. 691-727

Concerning the expectation of Job, as he sat in ashes, for his future deliverer:

CHAPTER XXI P. 766-817

Concerning the communication and preservation of the doctrine of grace in the time of the promise, especially through instruction, as in public worship:

CHAPTER XXIII P. 818-865

Concerning the establishment of the doctrine of grace in the time of the promise through various covenants and seals of agreement, particularly through the rainbow and circumcision:

CHAPTER XXIV P. 866-881

Concerning the foremost benefits, which were peculiar to the economy of the promise:

CHAPTER XXV P. 882-898

Concerning the foremost deficiencies, which can be found in the church of the promise period:

INDEX P. 899 ff.

**THE TABLE OF CONTENTS
FOR
VOLUME III, PART I
(1718)**

CHAPTER I p. 1-116

Concerning the history of the Church under the economy of the law, and how everything in it takes place according to God's counsel:

CHAPTER II p. 117-138

Concerning how Christ and his kingdom has been the foremost objective to why God's spirit has recorded the history of this time:

CHAPTER III p. 139-265

Concerning the examples/patterns to the history of the time of the law, and particularly concerning those which pointed toward the person of Christ and the purchase of salvation:

CHAPTER IV p. 266-327

Concerning the examples/patterns, which in the time of the law, may have placed a shadow on the New Testament Church:

CHAPTER V p. 328-367

Concerning the reflection of change within faith which can be noticed in the history of the "law-times":

CHAPTER VI p. 368-427

Concerning the revelation of the doctrine of grace and the kind of circumstances in which it occurred during the time of the law:

CHAPTER VII p. 428-450

The faith confession of Moses and the Israelite Church -- concerning the Trinity of God:

CHAPTER VIII p. 451-479

An outline of the entire work of grace found in the high-priestly blessing:

CHAPTER IX p. 480-505

The testimony of Moses concerning the Rock of Salvation, and the perfection of his plan:

CHAPTER X p. 506-536

David's swan-song concerning the rising heavenly sunrise (*Sonnengiantz*) with the setting of his house:

CHAPTER XI p. 537-593

The excellence of the Savior in his future "personhood" -- described by Isaiah:

CHAPTER XII p. 594-630

The excellence in the person, kingdom and blessings of the Messiah -- described by Jeremiah:

CHAPTER XIII p. 631-656

The testimony of the prophet Zechariah concerning the counsel of peace and the fulfillment of the works of salvation:

CHAPTER XIV p. 657-678

The testimony of Jeremiah concerning Christ's guarantee and how Christ must come into the world in order to fulfill that guarantee:

CHAPTER XV p. 679-708

The testimony of David concerning the purchase of salvation through the potent obedience of the Messiah:

CHAPTER XVI p. 709-757

The testimony of Isaiah concerning the purchase of salvation through the "pain-bearing" (*leidenden*) obedience of the Messiah:

CHAPTER XVII p. 758-773

The testimony of the prophet Habakkuk concerning the appropriation of salvation in this life through faith:

CHAPTER XVIII p. 774-805

The testimony of David concerning the appropriation of salvation in this life through the justification, sanctification, preservation and consolation of the Holy Spirit:

CHAPTER XIX p. 806-825

The belief of David and the Israelite Church concerning the appropriation of complete salvation in the future life:

CHAPTER XX p. 826-855

Concerning the communication and the appropriation of the doctrine of grace through all kinds of instruction, particularly public, during the time of the law:

NOTE: VOLUME III.II PICKS UP WITH THE NEXT CHAPTER (XXI)

**THE TABLE OF CONTENTS
FOR
VOLUME III, PART II
(1718)**

CHAPTER XXI p. 857-933

Concerning, in general, the Sinai covenant and its nature and purpose:

CHAPTER XXII p. 934-1044

Concerning the law of the Ten Commandments:

CHAPTER XXIII p. 1045-1133

Concerning representative persons of the ceremonial law -- a comparison of the High-priests, the priests and the Levites:

CHAPTER XXIV p. 1134-1171

Concerning the representative applications of the ceremonial law -- more specifically, concerning many kinds of sacrifices:

CHAPTER XXV p. 1172-1253

Concerning other representative applications and details which belonged to Levitical worship:

CHAPTER XXVI p. 1254-1392

Concerning the representative places of the ceremonial law -- the Tabernacle, the Temple, Mount Zion, Jerusalem and the free cities:

CHAPTER XXVII p. 1393-1507

Concerning the representative times and festivals of Levitical worship:

CHAPTER XXVIII p. 1508-1561

Concerning the establishment of the doctrine of grace through various seals of agreement -- both ordinary as well as extraordinary:

CHAPTER XXIX p. 1562-1607

Concerning the foremost benefits which were unique to the economy of the law:

CHAPTER XXX p. 1608-1688

Concerning the foremost deficiencies which can be found in the economy of the law.

INDEX p. 1689 ff.

**THE TABLE OF CONTENTS
FOR
VOLUME IV, PART I
(1719)**

CHAPTER I p. 1-19

Concerning the history of the economy of the Gospel and its truth in general; and foremost concerning the Lord Jesus Christ:

CHAPTER II p. 20-72

Concerning the fulfillment of all things in the history of the Lord Jesus, which had been foretold, according to the counsel of God:

CHAPTER III p. 73-121

Concerning the disclosure of the attributes of a perfect savior in every way within the history of the Lord Jesus:

CHAPTER IV p. 122-170

Concerning representatives/models of our Lord Jesus Christ in history:

CHAPTER V p. 171-259

Concerning the perfect example of true virtue, which is given in the history of our Savior:

CHAPTER VI p. 260-285

Concerning the history of the New Testament Church in general:

CHAPTER VII p. 286-344

The history of the first period of the Church--from Christ's ascension up to the beginning of the Apostles:

CHAPTER VIII p. 345-403

The history of the second period of the Church--from the beginning of the Apostles up to the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great:

CHAPTER IX p. 404-473

The history of the Church's third period--from the first Christian emperor up to Emperor Phocas, under whom erupted a wave of anti-Christianity; or up to the Roman bishop, Boniface III:

CHAPTER X p. 474-581

The history of the fourth period of the Church--from the outbreak of anti-Christianity up to the first thrust of revival, which the Church received through the Waldensians:

CHAPTER XI p. 582-715

The history of the fifth period of the New Testament church--from the first beginnings of the Reformation through the Waldensians up to its completion through the Treaty of Passau:

CHAPTER XII p. 716-818

The history of the sixth period of the Church--from the Treaty of Passau up to our present time:

CHAPTER XIII p. 819-880

Concerning the happenings of the Church which are still to come, particularly in the seventh period of the New Testament and up to the end of the world, so far as it can be understood from the prophetic Word:

NOTE: VOLUME IV.II PICKS UP WITH THE NEXT CHAPTER (XIV)

**THE TABLE OF CONTENTS
FOR
VOLUME IV, PART II
(1719)**

CHAPTER XIV p. 881-986

Concerning the revelation of the doctrine of grace in the time of the Gospels, and the kind of circumstances it took place within:

CHAPTER XV p. 987-1087

Concerning the contents of the Gospel teaching from the mouth of the Lord Jesus himself and how he has shown that he is the Christ:

CHAPTER XVI p. 1088-1132

Concerning the contents of the Gospel teaching and how it is brought forth through the mouths of the Apostles after the outpouring of the Holy Spirit:

CHAPTER XVII p. 1133-1204

Concerning the transmission of the doctrine of grace in the time of the Gospels and the means in which it took place:

CHAPTER XVIII p. 1205-1272

Concerning the establishing of the New Testament teaching of grace through seals of agreement; and concerning, above all, the extraordinary covenant seals of the New Testament:

CHAPTER XIX p. 1273-1334

Concerning sacred baptism as the first covenant seal of the New Testament and the mystery and right application of it:

CHAPTER XX p. 1335-1442

Concerning the second proper covenant seal of the New Testament -- Holy Communion and the mystery and right application of it:

CHAPTER XXI p. 1443-1467

Concerning the magnificent benefits of the New Testament in general:

CHAPTER XXII p. 1468-1507

Concerning Christ's future and perfect obedience and those blessings flowing from this, including the increase of faith, perfect forgiveness of sins, and adoption:

CHAPTER XXIII p. 1508-1605

Concerning the outpouring of a richer measure of the Holy Spirit as associated with these items: better knowledge, greater consecration, more powerful consolation, etc.:

CHAPTER XXIV p. 1606-1657

Concerning the magnificent sermon of the Evangelist and the emerging fruitfulness of that spiritual seed, the annulment of the "dividing wall", and the inheriting of the world:

CHAPTER XXV p. 1658-1700

Concerning the building of Christ's Kingdom, whose heavenly frame is freedom and consistency.

SCRIPTURE**INDEX p. 1701-1706****SUBJECT****INDEXp. 1707 ff.**

Our study will refer to material presented in all the volumes above. However, we will primarily refer to volumes one, two and five; since these volumes present Lampe's definition of the covenant concept, his analogy with creation, and the relationship between the individual covenant partnership and history.

A crucial secondary source in our investigation of Lampe's understanding of the individual and history is Grete Möller's article, "*Föederalismus und Geschichtsbetrachtung im XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert*" ("Federalism and the Evaluation of History in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries").³⁹ Möller starts this article with a discussion on the unfruitful consequences of covenantal thought in dogmatics. However, he then shifts his focus to a review of the Cocceian method of exegesis. At this point, Möller focuses on the development of the Cocceian view of biblical interpretation, which sees scripture as uniform, yet progressive in its revelation. Then Möller describes the "prophetic-symbolic" exegetical method and the Cocceian

³⁹ Grete Möller, "*Föederalismus und Geschichtsbetrachtung im XVII und XVIII Jahrhundert*," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 50 (1931): 393-440.

understanding of the relationship between prophecy and history. Furthermore, Möller defines the Cocceian idea of time, and then describes how Cocceians understand prophecy and the divine mechanism of time as coming together to form revelation through the periodization of history. Thus, Möller points out that, for the Cocceian school, both scripture and history serve as progressive revelation; and together form a complete revelation with Christ as its foundation and purpose.⁴⁰ Now, this article is crucial for us in that Möller directly connects Lampe to these Cocceian principles, and provides citations from Lampe that proves a direct connection between an individual's appropriation of grace, and the progression of history.

Finally, the last two sources to be looked at for information concerning Lampe's theology are O'Malley's Pilgrimage of Faith and Wayfaring and Warfaring.⁴¹ As noted earlier, these works will assist us in discovering Lampe's order of salvation, and the connection between the *Heilsordnung* and the ongoing transformation of history.

This literature review has only covered those sources that are most frequently cited in this paper. Lampe was an eclectic theologian and he brought together aspects of high Calvinism, moderate federal theology, and Reformed Pietism. Hence, in light of all these areas of thought, a literature review on Lampe could last indefinitely; and the twenty sources above appear to have only begun to identify available sources. Hopefully, however, the bibliography at the end of this paper will make up for any deficiency this literature review may have presented.

With this noted, and our literature review complete, we are now ready to begin our investigation into the first sub-problem -- to establish a brief historical and theological context for Lampe, and to identify the man himself.

⁴⁰ Möller's thought here is fully developed in Part III of this paper -- when speaking of the Cocceian understanding of scriptural revelation, creation and time.

⁴¹ See footnotes 15 and 20 above.

PART II

LAMPE'S HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL SETTING

The need to review the historical setting in which Lampe developed his thought is obvious to the task of investigating the particulars involved in the thesis topic. Yet before this historical setting can be examined, it is necessary to investigate some of the general misinterpretations applied to Pietism. The reasoning here is this: as one examines the obscure image that has been given to Pietism over the years, then one, perhaps, can begin to see some possible reasons to why Lampe, who being a member of the Pietist movement, has an obscure history as well.

Therefore, there will first be an examination of principles within Pietism that attribute to its own misinterpretation, and then a discussion on the charges brought against Pietism over the years as a result of misunderstanding these principles. After mentioning these charges, the proper tenets of Pietism and how these tenets rest in the Reformed tradition will be discussed. We will then move on to establish the historical setting for Reformed Pietism as it relates to F.A. Lampe.

Following these discussions, two pertinent controversies that evolved within the given historical context will be discussed. From here the key "schools of influence" on Lampe will be delineated. Finally, Lampe's biographical information will be given. This fifth section will summarize and clearly link Lampe with: the misinterpretations of Pietism, the historical context, the relevant controversies, and the "schools of influence." With this accomplished we will have completed Part II of this project (The Historical and Theological Setting), and will then be able to address the issues of the thesis topic itself. With all this said, we now turn to the first chapter within this section -- "The Obscurity and Misinterpretations of Pietism, and Its Proper Definition."

CHAPTER II

THE OBSCURITY AND MISINTERPRETATIONS OF PIETISM AND ITS PROPER DEFINITION

The Reasons For Obscurity

Max Goebel said that Friedrich Adolph Lampe was "the greatest theologian in the German Reformed Church since the Reformation, and the most influential in the eighteenth century."¹ Some may question the first half of this statement, but the latter half is certainly true. Even so, Lampe has received little attention in the history of Christian doctrine.² Some of his obscurity in history may be attributed to the fact that he never wrote in the orientation of the academia. As Ernest Stoeffler writes:

He...tried earnestly to avoid all technical terms and put even the most profound concepts into a linguistic form which would be meaningful in the local churches. Because of this Lampe was never given the credit which he deserves by professionals in the field.³

Yet another reason for his obscurity in history is that the movement in which he belonged, meaning that of Pietism, is obscure in history and among the academia as well. Hence, in order to better understand Lampe and his place in history, it is appropriate first to understand Pietism and its place in history. The best way to accomplish the latter is to examine why it has been misinterpreted, the charges involved in those misinterpretations, and then, in light of all this, examine the supra of Pietism.

"One of the least understood movements in the history of Christianity has undoubtedly been that of Pietism."⁴ There seem to be three basic reasons for this fact. First the complexity of the movement is astounding. Though Pietism primarily stemmed out of the Reformed tradition,

¹ Taken from: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 64.

² Ibid.

³ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 228.

⁴ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 1.

it, over time, broke out into all parts of Europe and into most, if not all, parts of Protestantism. It even touched Catholicism via Jansenism⁵. With such a wide impact, the basic tenets of Pietism took on variant expressions, and in turn, attributed to the confusing of its true voice.⁶

The second reason for Pietism being one of the least understood movements in history is the fact that it contained within itself certain aspects which lent to its own misinterpretation. First, in the time which Pietism fully arose in Europe,⁷ theological definition and liturgical form were of more importance to Orthodoxy than the care and nurturing of the Christian faith within individuals.⁸ Pietism found theological debate distasteful, and with its practical orientation, sought to avoid it. With this passivity to controversy, Pietists were usually persecuted for going against the trends of the time (Here trend means a perceived justified consensus.). They then responded to such persecution with passivity as well. Consequently, "wrong impressions were perpetuated in history with only sporadic attempts at correction."⁹

The second, and last, primary aspect of Pietism that contributed to its own misinterpretation is that it had a "reformatory tendency."¹⁰ Though the Pietists sought to avoid

⁵ A pietistic movement with the Catholic church based upon the work of Otto Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638).

⁶ Protestantism is highly indebted to Pietism, yet this indebtedness has not been fully appraised. Kenneth E. Rowe, in the forward to O'Malley's Pilgrimage of Faith, gives one reason for this, and in doing so attests to the complexity of Pietism being spoken of here. Rowe states: "The indebtedness of Protestantism to Pietism has long been acknowledged. However, the nature and extent of this indebtedness has never been fully assessed. Part of the reason for this is undoubtedly due to the complexity of the movement itself. For the 17th century extension of the reform principle to the Christian life...took many shapes in England, Germany and the low countries." Pilgrimage of Faith, vii.

⁷ Pietism has many roots. For example, much of Pietism came out of the early mystics and monastic traditions. But the focus of our study is dealing with the age in which Pietism blossomed on the European continent. This period was during the century rotating around the time of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Hence, the expression, "the time in which Pietism fully arose in Europe," is meant to correspond with this era. Moreover, "fully arose" is not meant to be confused with "was fully developed," for Pietism did not find its fullest expression until the time of Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705). More will be said on this last point latter in this paper.

⁸ As Stoeffler states: "Its [Pietism's] interest was focused upon deepening and strengthening the devotional life of people rather than upon correctness of theological definition or liturgical form." Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 2. Brackets mine.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

theological debate and controversy, they did not avoid the lack of spiritual attention being given to the people. This lack of attention led to a *status quo* mentality on behalf of the ecclesiastical authorities, and led to a low morale among the people. Consequently, both the former and the latter began to decline to base morality. Thus, the Pietists sought to go against the *status quo* mentality and functions of the present day ecclesiastical order. They also sought to encourage those disciplines which could lead persons out of spiritual depression and deliberate unfaithfulness, and into a daily life of obedience and faith. "The result, naturally enough, was tension, opposition, and misrepresentation. The reformer is not usually welcome to the representatives of the *status quo*, and the early Pietists meant to be reformers."¹¹

The third significant reason for why Pietism is one of the least known and least understood movements in history is that its first major appraisals were negative ones; and unfortunately, these have stuck in the minds of many scholars over the years. One of the first recorded appraisals of Pietism was that of Pastor Mayer of Hamberg in the late seventeenth century. He condemned Pietism because he felt it was plagued by heresy.¹² And as Stoeffler points out, this appraisal had a lasting impact. He states:

Amazingly enough Mayer and his fellow scholastics created an image of Pietism which, though distorted and thoroughly unreliable, has haunted the movement ever since.¹³

Another, and perhaps the greatest, misrepresentation of pietism was that of Albrecht Ritschl's three volume work *Geschichte des Pietismus*.¹⁴ As Heiko A. Oberman says:

The impact of Albrecht Ritschl's impressive three-volume History of Pietism has been so overpowering and far-reaching that today, outside the small circle of specialists, pietism is still generally associated with anti-intellectualism, hyper-

¹¹ Stoeffler, *Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, 3.

¹² He "felt that it was infected with Pelagian, Papistic, Socinian, Quakerish, and Arminian heresies." *Ibid.*, 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ See chapter I, footnote #13.

individualism,...holy-group separatism;...the...'eroticism of medieval mysticism' and the 'Pharisaic irresponsibility' of medieval monasticism.¹⁵

These appraisals, among others, when filtered through the natural complexity of the movement, have distorted the meaning and history of Pietism so badly that one scholar has gone as far as to ask whether or not the movement of Pietism ever existed.¹⁶

The Charges Against Pietism

In order to further discover the reasoning behind the aforementioned appraisals, one must examine the charges that negative appraisals assert against Pietism. Such charges claim that Pietism is a movement overly doused in subjectivism, mysticism, aceticism and extremism.¹⁷ Yet to respond to these claims, one must first understand that Pietism aimed at the experiential dimension of religious faith;¹⁸ and it is in light of this experiential emphasis that all of the charges arise.

In regard to the first charge of subjectivism, it is true that Pietism: in desiring the experiential dimension of religion; in placing a high concern on the spiritual well-being of the individual; and in expressing the emotions involved in personal religious experience; often appeared subjective. However, this purposed subjectivism is only apparent against the backdrop of the dichotomies brought forth in the seventeenth century scholastics.¹⁹ For in Scholasticism, there was an over-rationalization of theological principles to the point that faith and reason, nature and revelation, the Word and words of scripture, etc., were no longer spoken of in the tension of

¹⁵ In the preface of: Johann Arndt, True Christianity, trans. Peter Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), xii.

¹⁶ Ward, The Protestant Evangelical Awakening, 57.

¹⁷ A discussion on these charges is found in Rise of evangelical Pietism, 10-12.

¹⁸ Stoeffler states: "What early evangelical Pietism actually endeavored to do was to preserve the experiential element in Protestantism which was so obvious in Luther as well as in Calvin." Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 10. James I. Good also states: "Pietism was a movement in the Protestant Church which emphasized experience." Good, History of the Reformed Church of Germany, 307.

¹⁹ Good, 307.

two parts comprising the whole, with emphasis on the whole; but were spoken of as distinguishable entities, with emphasis on their "separateness." The Pietists, however, in emphasizing experience, simply tried to bring the tension of "wholeness" back into theology as the Christian dynamic.²⁰

The Pietists also expressed a concern for the emotional side of religious experience. This not only attributed to a charge of subjectivism but to a charge of mysticism as well. In many ways the early forerunners to the Pietists were the mystics. For example, Johann Arndt (1555-1621), considered by some as "the Father of German Pietism,"²¹ made use of the works by the mystics Angela of Foligno (1248-1309) and Johann Tauler (1300-1361). In addition, Joachim Neander (1650-1680), "the Father of German Reformed hymnology"²² and "the poet of the Pietists,"²³ used mystical language in his hymns and poetry. Moreover, Neander's poetic mystical traits would continue to find expression in Pietism through the work of Lampe and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769).²⁴ However, the use of mystical sources and language by no means made Pietism a mystical movement. What the Pietists hoped to do with the implementation of mystical elements "was to correct the then current dry-as-dust orthodoxy in favor of the Christianity of the reformers, which was a living, vital, and hence affectively satisfying faith."²⁵

The third charge brought against Pietism is that it was overly ascetic. It is true that Pietism externally identified itself with prayer meetings, catechization and strict public and private

²⁰ Good, 307.

²¹ See page 11 in the preface to True Christianity by H.A. Oberman. This identification is made in light of fact that it was in support of a late edition of Arndt's book, True Christianity, that P. J. Spener wrote his famous introduction to it, the Pia Desideria; and from this introduction Pietism found its fullest expression. Thus some attribute the best expression of Pietism, particularly Lutheran Pietism, as resting solidly on the shoulders of Arndt.

²² Good, 344.

²³ Ibid., 354.

²⁴ As Good states: "Neander founded a school of hymnists...whom Lampe and Tersteegen are the representatives." Ibid., 357.

²⁵ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 11.

disciplines.²⁶ However, this should not be understood as being overly ascetic. In fact, in light of the Church's *status quo* mentality and the low ebb of morality, one should wonder which charge would be more accurate: that Pietism was a practice in asceticism or that the contemporaneous orthodoxy was a practice in anti-nomianism. Both are extreme. Both are inaccurate. Through the "asceticism" of outward disciplines, the call for self-denial and the avoidance of worldly practices, Pietism sought to emphasize the necessary connection between a vital faith and Christian conduct, and sought to criticize the Church at large for ignoring this connection.²⁷

The last most common charge against Pietism is that it was a practice of extremism, or that it was fanatical. Such a charge is closely related to separatism and is understandable in light of the many examples of separatism that exist in the history of Pietism. For example, many of the English Puritans, who shared in the key themes of German and Dutch Pietism,²⁸ felt it necessary to break from the Church of England. Likewise, in Germany, there was Count Zinzendorf (1700-1760) and the Moravians who practiced communal living within the context of an "outer-edge" Lutheranism. There was also Jean de Labadie (1610-1674), who after claiming the voice of Pietism, decided to break from the Reformed Church. Furthermore, there were the Anabaptists, who identified with some of the characteristics of Pietism and were coined as a radical expression of it. And in addition to these examples, there were those truly fanatical groups like Eva von Buttler (1670-1717) and the Buttler Gang, who were heretics under the name of Pietism.²⁹ Yet, in the midst of the rational, sub-rational and irrational separatists in both the Lutheran and Reformed circles, Pietists generally endeavored to remain in their respective churches in the hopes

²⁶ Good, 307.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Stoeffler speaks of the connection between Pietism (Reformed Pietism) and the Pietistic Puritanism of England in Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 117 ff.

²⁹ Eva von Buttler was born into a Lutheran family. She married a court dancer and decided out of a personal spiritual quest not to cohabit with her husband for five years. She then moved to Hesse and set up a Quietist circle with her lover, a theologian by the name of Winter. A short time after the development of this society, Eva claimed that her lover and a medical student by the name of Jena were the Father and Son respectively, and that she was the Holy Spirit. See: Ward, 202-203.

to bring about internal reform. It is unfortunate that some Pietists did separate, and it is even more unfortunate that some were extremists, but the whole historic movement can not be defined on the basis of a few, though historically memorable, examples.

The charges above are based on a confusion between the tendencies and aspects of Pietism. Tendencies are those things that lean in a certain direction of something; and aspects are the defining characteristics of something. The negative appraisals see Pietism's two key aspects (i.e., passivity and reform) as tendencies, and its tendencies (i.e., mysticism, subjectivism, asceticism and extremism) as its key aspects. This turn about is a mistake. "Leanings," or traits, may exist in a movement, but they do not necessarily define that movement.

Pietism's Proper Definition

The proper definition of historic Pietism can be deduced from the discussion above.³⁰ First, historic Pietism was based on experiential realities. In other words, it sought to understand Christian doctrine in light of its practical application. Second, in step with the trait just mentioned, Pietism emphasized practical living and ethics. Therefore, the understanding of scripture was central to the Pietists. For one had to properly understand the Word of God in order to properly understand its ethical demands on his or her life. To the Pietists, the demands of scripture called for the visible implimentation of daily disciplines and the appropriation of prophetic insights concerning the times around one's life. Christians were to live consecrated lives and were to be found watching and waiting.

Third, in light of the experiential, practical and biblical emphases, Pietism expressed "religious idealism."³¹ In other words, Pietism emphasized the necessity to strive for perfection. Growth in grace was the purpose for Pietism's practical emphasis.

³⁰ The following tenets of Pietism are discussed in Stoeffler's Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 12-23.

³¹ Ibid., 16.

Finally, it must be said that another trait of historic Pietism was that it had an "oppositive element."³² As mentioned earlier, Pietism sought reform against the *status quo* mentality and the lackadaisical moral behavior of the times, but this was only a general statement of the opposition that Pietism faced. In order to more fully understand what Pietism stood against, one must move into a discussion on the historical context in which Pietism fully arose. However, before moving into this direction, it is important to first observe how Lampe has come to a fuller historical presence with all that has been mentioned so far.

From the proper traits of Pietism we can surmise that Lampe, in being a member of the historical movement of Pietism, had: (1) a distaste for theological controversy; (2) was passive in light of persecution; (3) may have been considered a mystic, separatist or even a fanatic; (4) placed importance on experiential faith; (5) promoted practical ethics; and (6) had a central biblicism and sought reform. These plausible connections between Lampe and historic Pietism will become more clear as the paper progresses and will be fully established by the presentation of Lampe's biographical data in chapter five. Therefore, to begin the task of establishing Lampe's full connection with historic Pietism, and to begin the move into fully understanding what the latter stood against, we must turn to examine the historical context, or in better terms, the century to which Lampe was born.

³² Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 22.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Two things must be noted in starting this chapter of our study. First, the term Pietism needs to be narrowed. Second, in light of the more narrow definition of the term, which places emphasis on Reformed Pietism, and in view of the extremely complex Dutch and German history of Reformed Pietism, only a few key points within the history of Germany and the Netherlands will be mentioned.

Pietism Narrowed

Thus far, this paper has been speaking of "general" Pietism. This has been the case in order to point out basic traits within the broad Pietistic movement without delimiting them to a particular brand. The different "brands" of Pietism (i.e., Reformed, Lutheran and Radical Pietism) have their own particular nuances, but the "true" themes of Pietism are shared by each. However, it is in the Reformed tradition where Pietism, as defined above, first arose, and all the other "brands" owe their beginning in some way to early Reformed Pietists.¹ One need only to look at Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) to establish this point.

Spener is considered by many, if not most, as "The Father of [historic] Pietism."² This title is accredited to him on the basis of his popular pietistic work, the *Pia Desideria*, which was written as an introduction to an edition of Johann Arndt's True Christianity. Even the term "pietism" is considered to have been derived from Spener's use of the term *collegia pietatis*,

¹ Good states concerning the whole of Pietism: "And although not fully developed until the close of the seventeenth century, yet its germ, its model, existed at the very beginning of the Reformed Church...." Good, 310.

² Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 230. Brackets mine. Compare this to footnote #20 in chapter II above.

which he used to represent "study classes in piety", which are otherwise known as conventicles.³ Yet conventicles, also known as prayer meetings by some, were a Reformed institution.⁴

The Pietistic Puritans had long before Spener promoted home devotional meetings for family members and servants.⁵ Some of these Puritans, due to persecution or educational reasons, came to the Netherlands and formed strong Calvinistic areas. In turn, these areas, for reasons that will be established later in this paper, had strong communication links with Reformed areas in Germany. Spener traveled in these Reformed areas of Germany many times as a young man.⁶ In addition, Spener sat under the preaching and translated a work of Jean de Labadie, who had begun home meetings prior to his separation from the Reformed Church.⁷ Hence, it is most likely that Spener acquired the idea of the *collegia pietatis* and other pietistic "tools" from the Reformed tradition. Though the details surrounding the question of how Spener acquired traits of Reformed Pietism are open to debate, there can be no doubt that Spener's expression of Pietism within the *Pia Desideria* is entirely similar to the Reformed expression.

The plausible link between Spener and Reformed Pietism has been pointed out in order to show that the following historical discussion will serve two purposes. First, in showing that the traditionally best known exponent of pietistic themes (i.e., Spener) had Reformed Pietism as his foundational influence; the following discussion on historical context need only be oriented to the Reformed tradition in order to show more clearly the fourth true trait of "general" Pietism (i.e., the opposite element). Furthermore, though different individual controversies belong to the histories of each "brand" of Pietism, the Spener link shows that the Reformed controversies can still speak to the general issue of opposition; and, as just mentioned, establish a better picture of

³ See: Dale W. Brown, Understanding Pietism (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1978), 12.

⁴ Good, 308.

⁵ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 127-128.

⁶ Ibid., 231.

⁷ Ibid.

the fourth trait of historic Pietism. Second, with the historic context and controversies being oriented to the Reformed tradition, the matters of history to be discussed will, of course, maintain a strict relation to Lampe, since he is directly out of this tradition.

The Relevant Elements in the History of Germany

The task of pointing out all, or many, of the particular events that contributed to the arrival of Pietism in Germany is obviously beyond the scope of this paper. However, there is one major event in German history that is considered as being the most important for German Reformed Pietism. This event is the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).⁸ There are three aspects, or results, of the war which are most important to our study, and will be examined in this chapter; they are: the devastation brought to the people of Germany; the advance and stalemate of religious liberty; and the event in which Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands became independent states.

When describing the vast destruction brought on by the Thirty Years' War, perhaps Joseph Strayer describes it best when he states:

The Thirty Years' War was one of the most brutal and destructive wars of which we have record until the twentieth century. Armies robbed, raped, and murdered

⁸ Good brings out the central importance of the Thirty Years' War, as it relates to German Reformed Pietism, in the first chapter of his book, The History of the German Reformed Church. (See: Good, 9-16.) In addition, Joseph R. Strayer and Hans W. Gatzke give a brief, yet well defined, description of the causes leading to the Thirty Years' War. They State: "The war sprang out of a complicated mixture of religious and political grievances. Lutherans and Catholics had not fought each other since the Peace of Augsburg (1555), but the Catholics were disturbed by the fact that, in spite of the provisions of the peace, most of the Catholic bishoprics in northern Germany had fallen into Lutheran or secular hands. This gave some grounds for creating an ultra-Catholic movement headed by the Jesuits and the German Catholic princes, particularly Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria. The spread of Calvinism introduced a new source of friction because Calvinism had been excluded from the Peace of Augsburg. When Maximilian roughly disciplined the Protestant town of Donauworth, Friedrich V, the Calvinist ruler of the Palatinate, a small state in the middle of the Rhine, took the lead in forming a Protestant Union among the German princes and cities in 1608. In reply a Catholic League was organized the next year under the leadership of Maximilian. By 1609 two illegal military alliances faced each other within the Empire, each afraid of each other and each determined to keep the rival religion from making any further gains." (Strayer and Gatzke, The Mainstream of Civilization, 429-430.) After years of political intrigue and religious tension, the war began in 1618/19. For a complete survey of the causes leading up to the war and the war itself, see: Samuel Rawson Gardiner, The Thirty Years' War (New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Co., 1875).

their way back and forth across Germany....It is impossible to be sure of the total decline in population, but some historians believe that Germany lost almost a third of its inhabitants....The social and psychological effects...were certainly frightful. A whole generation grew up accepting violence and brutality as normal.⁹

In addition to the general destruction, it should be realized that the Reformed areas in Germany suffered most. James Good states that "the war was especially directed against the Reformed...."¹⁰ He even goes as far as to say that, "in a certain sense," the war was a "Reformed war."¹¹ This is due to the fact that the Calvinists were regarded as the most militant form of Protestantism,¹² and they were not officially recognized as a "true" church.¹³ Hence, they were more acceptable to attack. Consequently, during the war the Reformed areas must have found themselves in the darkest of emotions. And though it is impossible to psychoanalyze the mind-set of persons in history, it is safe to assume, in light of Strayer's and Good's comments, that the spiritual morale, especially in the Reformed areas, was submerged in depression, apathy, and/or hatred. Such emotions serve contrary to the practice of piety. Therefore, since the Thirty Years' War contributed to the low morale among the people of Germany, and since the issue of morale was one mentioned in the last chapter as one of the things Pietism hoped to change; it is clear then, that the Thirty Years' War contributes to the existence of the opposite trait within true historic Pietism.

Another aspect of the War's destruction is that many Reformed educational centers were destroyed.¹⁴ This, combined with Germany's low morality, caused many persons to seek out

⁹ Strayer and Gatzke, 433-434.

¹⁰ Good, 11.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 111.

¹³ As Good states: "They [Calvinists] had not been mentioned in the treaty of Augsburg, 1555, (for at that time there were hardly any Reformed in Germany). And as they were not protected by the peace of Augsburg, they existed only by right of sufferance, but they were not accredited by law. Their rights could be taken away from them at any time, because they were not protected by law." Good, 12. Brackets mine.

¹⁴ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 112.

other areas for education and living, and led most toward the Netherlands. In turn, this contributed to an educational and cultural relationship between Germany and Holland. What is important to note here is that this educational and cultural link would still exist during Lampe's time, and would provide him the arena in which to develop his theological thinking.

The next result of the Thirty Years' War, that is relevant to our study, is the advance and stalemate of the principle of religious liberty. Religious liberty in Germany was advanced in that after the war Calvinism was recognized as a legal church, and the rights of Calvinists were guaranteed.¹⁵ As Good states: "The Peace of Westphalia was the first to recognize them as a Church."¹⁶ However in some ways religious liberty was not entirely advanced. For when the smoke cleared and the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 was finally settled upon, Germany was left segmented into numerous (approximately 300) autonomous principalities.¹⁷ And though persons were able to move freely to and from these small principalities, the local rulers still maintained authority in the affairs of their respective ecclesiastical bodies. Thus, some rulers could make things difficult for people who were not in line with his or her religious sensitivities. In other words, after the war, a prince, for example, may have had his authority to force a Calvinist or Catholic into being a Lutheran taken away; but the prince could still decide the fate of his own confession. Thus, in a sense, the old principle of *cuius regio -- eius religio*, or "the faith of the prince -- the faith of the people," was, though on a smaller scale, reaffirmed.¹⁸

The post-war royal prejudice, and occasional caesaropapism, is evident in both the negative and positive reactions that many local authorities took toward Pietism.¹⁹ For one

¹⁵ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 112.

¹⁶ Good, 12.

¹⁷ Strayer and Gatzke, 433.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Spener gives direct evidence to the caesaropapism that existed after the war in the fact that he criticizes the caesaropapism of the Lutheran princes in his Pia Desideria. See: Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 232.

example, there is the struggle that Spener had with the Count of Hesse-Darmstadt;²⁰ where due to the negative attitude and policies of the Count, it took Spener many years to get his pietistic themes into the Hesse-Darmstadt area. On the other hand, as a positive example, there was the Elector of Brandenburg, later King of Prussia, Frederick William III, who recognized and protected Pietism.²¹ But in either case, the point to be observed is that the local state authorities still had much, if not all, control over their regions. Hence, in this sense, religious liberty was stalemated.

The aspect of religious liberty in our small view of German history is important for our study in three ways. First, the freedom given to the Calvinists by the Peace of Westphalia contributed to the Calvinist link between Germany and Holland; and as mentioned earlier, Lampe would live and think within this link. Second, the apparent stalemate in religious liberty contributed to the conditions that historic Pietism addressed. For royal influence within ecclesiastical matters often contributed to the *status quo* mentality, and Pietism, as well as Lampe in particular, blatantly opposed such a mentality within the Church. Finally, through the advantage of the partial stalemate in religious liberty, some local authorities in the North-West areas of Germany influenced their churches in a positive way through an appreciation of the pietistic themes. Such appreciation on behalf of local authorities would have a direct impact on Lampe's life, especially during his later years in Bremen.

The next result of the Thirty Years' War, which serves as our last relevant aspect within our limited view of Germany history, is the fact that Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands became independent states. The latter's independence is significant to our study, in that it issued in an era of cultural and economic growth, which contributed to the strengthening of Dutch education, and to the strengthening of the Dutch-German educational and cultural link that Lampe would take advantage of.

²⁰ See: Ward, 212-213.

²¹ Good, 369,370.

From the preceding discussion on the relevant elements in the history of Germany (i.e., the results of the Thirty Years' War), two things have been established. First, in light of the psychological impact of the war, and the post-war religious stalemate; we find evidence that supports that historic Pietism opposed spiritual and moral depression/depravity, and a *status quo* mentality. Thus, the opposite trait of Pietism has been more fully defined. Second, along with the increased spiritual turmoil of the German people, the War decimated Germany's educational centers. These factors (i.e., the low morale of the people and the destruction of educational facilities) caused many to migrate to the Netherlands in search for education and "greener pastures." This migration produced an educational and cultural link that would last for years. In turn, this link produced a sort of "big brother" mentality on behalf of the Dutch Calvinists in relation to their suffering comrades fleeing or remaining in Germany. Moreover, the educational and cultural link allowed for thoughts and ideas to easily pass from one country to the next. Of course, included in these communicated ideas were the themes of Pietism.

To better understand the communication of Pietism through the German-Holland link, and to fully understand the latter's role in Lampe's life as well, one must observe the "rest of the picture" by examining the relevant issues within the history of the Netherlands. Hence, in light of such importance, we now turn to that task.

The Relevant Elements in the History of the Netherlands

In the hope of further establishing: (1) the historical backdrop for Lampe, (2) the historical context for Reformed Pietism, (3) a more solid foundation for the opposite trait in the historic movement of Pietism, and (4) the link between Germany and Holland, we now turn to examine the primary issues of relevance within the history of the Netherlands. There are three issues to be examined in our study; they are: the persecution under the Duke of Alva, the Union of Utrecht, and the subsequent era of free enterprise.

Under the rule of Charles V (1500-1558), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1519-1555), and a devout Catholic, the territories of the Empire included Spain and the Netherlands.²² "The very extent of his power was, however, his chief source of weakness...."²³ For though Charles had a centralized administration in Spain and had made efforts for political consolidation in the Netherlands, he had difficulty maintaining control of the central provincial powers. This difficulty was not only based upon the range of the realm but also on the ever increasing Protestant populations, and his vacillating policies of "concession and repression" toward them.²⁴ For even in the Netherlands, where political consolidation in lieu of Catholic priorities had begun,²⁵ Protestantism, especially Lutheranism, had still made considerable inroads upon the population.²⁶

Problems for Charles continued throughout the realm until finally the Protestants drove him out of Germany. And soon the principle of *cuius regio -- eius religio* was forced upon him by the Diet of Augsburg (1555).²⁷ Finally, in the midst of either tolerating all Protestants, or in persecuting them all, Charles V abdicated the throne to his son Philip II (1527-1598).

Philip moved to Holland and attempted to finish the consolidation of the Netherlands under one rule and one faith. Yet after only a short time in the Netherlands, Philip left never to return. However, he continued to govern "through his illegitimate half-sister Margaret and a council of state."²⁸

²² "Charles V," The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ See: Kenneth Scott Lattourette, A History of Christianity, vol. 2 (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 763.

²⁶ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 110.

²⁷ "Charles V," The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd. ed..

²⁸ Lattourette, 763.

Soon, after Philip's reorganization of the land under new Catholic dioceses; his implementation of the Inquisition; and the installation of Margaret and her "make-shift" administration; a combined Protestant and Catholic opposition arose.²⁹ For the Protestants disliked the consolidation under Catholicism, and both the Protestants and Catholics disliked the idea of royal absolutism -- and the latter seemed to be the prevailing motive behind Philip's actions.³⁰ Kenneth Scott Lattourette best describes what happened next:

In 1556 several scores of young nobles led by a Lutheran, a Roman Catholic, and a Calvinist demanded a change of policy and the suppression of the Inquisition....Philip II responded by sending the Duke of Alva and setting up a tribunal to stamp out the opposition.³¹

Needless to say, much persecution followed, and it was primarily oriented toward the Protestants. Alva's "ruthless reign of terror, one of the worst in history, gradually led to outright rebellion."³²

"During the struggle which ensued many of the Calvinists fled east and settled in German territories. In 1571 they organized themselves at Emden into the Synod of the Churches of the Netherlands Which Sit Under the Cross."³³ This organization adopted the Belgic and Gallic confessions³⁴, and the Geneva and Heidelberg catechisms.³⁵ Their sense of community became as strong as the heritage and doctrine of the institutions they adopted.

²⁹ Lattourette, 763.

³⁰ "The main object of his reign was the defense of the Catholic faith against Protestantism, a task he undertook in the interests of religion as well as of royal absolutism. This double motive sometimes brought him into conflict with the Papacy and Reformers alike." "Philip II," The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed.

³¹ Lattourette, 764.

³² Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 110. Stoeffler's claim is supported by Schaff. For Schaff states: "Alva himself boasted that during his six years' rule as the agent of Philip II, he had caused 18,000 persons to be executed, but this does not include the much larger number of those who perished by siege, battle and in prisons." [Philip Schaff, The History of the Christian Church, vol. 7 (1910; reprint, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1994), 56.] In addition to this, Schaff reports that Charles V was once advised by the bloodthirsty Duke of Alva to "dig up and burn the bones of the arch-heretic [Luther], and scatter the ashes to the winds..." Schaff, The History of the Christian Church, vol. 7, 276. Brackets mine.

³³ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 110.

³⁴ The Belgic Confession was written in French by Guy de Bres and H. Saravia in 1561. The confession contains thirty-seven articles and basically follows the format of the Gallic Confession. "It is, upon the whole, the best symbolical statement of the Calvinistic system of doctrine, with the exception of the Westminster Confession."

Around 1572, the conditions in the Netherlands showed the first signs of improvement. Gradually the fighting stopped and the dispersed Calvinists, or those "under the cross," and the scattered Lutherans began to return home. Yet, since "the ranks of the other Protestants in the Netherlands had been severely decimated by the mass killings of Alva, Calvinists quickly assumed ascendancy."³⁶

As the Protestant dispersion returned home to the Netherlands, the Catholics decided to migrate south to a stronger Catholic consolidation in the provinces of present day Belgium.³⁷ As a result the Calvinists not only became the majority among the Protestants, but also the predominate religious body in all of the Netherlands. In light of this, the Calvinists held their first national synod in Dort in 1578, and then established the Union of Utrecht in 1579. This union "included the provinces of Geldern, Zutphen, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, and Ommelanden."³⁸ This union made manifest the dominance of the Calvinists and solidified the spirit of community among them.

To summarize what has been presented so far, there are a few important connections that must be made. First, the persecution under the Duke of Alva caused many Calvinists to flee into Germany. While there, these Calvinists formed into a solid community. This move and solidarity were the primary causes of the aforementioned link between Germany and Holland. Second, after

["Belgic Confession," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, vol. 12 (1912).] The Gallic (Gallican) Confession, also known as the Confession of La Rochelle, was primarily formulated during the national synod of the Reformed Church of France in 1559. "The arrangement is the same as in Calvin's 'Institutes' and the Geneva catechism of 1540. The symbol contains forty articles and is divided into four parts, corresponding to the four chief dogmas--God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, and the Church." "Gallican Confession," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, vol. 4 (1909).

³⁵ The first French version of the Geneva Catechism was written in 1542, and the first Latin version was done in 1545. Its five sections are on faith, the Law, prayer, the Word of God, and the Sacraments. ("Geneva Catechism," The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed.) The Heidelberg Catechism was compiled by Z. Ursinus and K. Olevian in 1562, at the request of Frederick III. There will be a discussion on the Heidelberg Catechism later in this paper.

³⁶ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 111.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

the Dutch Calvinists returned home, the Reformed tradition became the most prominent confession in the Netherlands. This reality contributed to the academic nature of the land; and did so in two ways: (1) Most educational centers in the Netherlands were, of course, established as Reformed institutions. (2) The Reformed tradition was so rich and appreciated, that the nature of what was taught in these established academic centers took on the air of controversy. This was so, because the sense of security that came with the rich Dutch traditions allowed for open dialogue concerning theological constructs, but it also was apt to oppose the implementation of any new ideas that arose from such dialogue. Hence, within this openness and exclusiveness there naturally arose within the Dutch academies an air of tension and/or controversy.

The importance of these factors (i.e., the formation of a solid Calvinist society and the air of academic controversy within the Netherlands) becomes even more evident in light of their connections with the observed elements in the history of Germany. First, by the mid point of the Thirty Years' War, the Netherlands had lived under the advantageous conditions of the Union of Utrecht for approximately fifty years. Thus, the fact that the German Calvinists were hit the hardest in the war must have disturbed the peaceful Dutch Calvinist mind-set, and brought back the images of the persecution faced under the Duke of Alva. Furthermore, as the German Reformed refugees swarmed into Holland, it must have brought back the images of the Dutch Calvinist dispersion in the German territories. Such thinking on behalf of the Dutch Calvinists is certainly plausible, especially in light of the actual historical fact that the Netherlands opened their arms to the German Reformed refugees during the historical period in question.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, the war had devastated the educational centers in Germany, and many turned to the Netherlands. There they found a great Calvinist influence. Moreover, the educational seekers found a slow rise of Pietism in the Dutch educational centers as well. For the dominance and rich heritage of the Calvinists in the Netherlands contributed to an air of controversy among the academia; and such controversy, being based in an "open to dialogue-closed to practice" mentality, had no practical concern, and thus over time formed a dry scholasticism. In turn, many of the Church's scholars and leaders lost themselves in such

discussions to the point that laymen suffered. This, combined with the emotional instability of the many incoming refugees from Germany, led to a moral dilemma. Accordingly, historic Pietism arose to counter these ills. Thus, Pietism's opposition was primarily the scholasticism and dry orthodoxy as it formed in the Reformed academies in the Netherlands.

By reviewing pertinent elements in the history of Germany and the Netherlands, we have developed the conditions behind: (1) the German-Netherlands link; (2) the opposition of Pietism, which simultaneously affirms the fourth true trait of historic pietism (i.e., the opposite element); and (3) we have seen the conditions behind the early historical context for Reformed Pietism.

But what is Lampe's connection to all of this? First, as the circumstances surrounding Pietism are understood, and its proper place in history identified, then one can better understand Lampe's place in history as well. Moreover, since historic Pietism is founded on, and emphasizes the traits of Reformed Pietism; and since Lampe is considered by many as one of the greatest exponents of the latter; then Lampe should be identified in history as one of the greatest spokespersons in all of historic Pietism. Second, with the reasons for the affinity and link between Germany and the Netherlands established, a better understanding of Lampe's choice to be educated and to serve in Holland is possible. Finally, the air of controversy generated by the Dutch schools opened the door to the Arminian and Cocceian-Voetian controversies, which had a direct impact on Lampe. In fact, Lampe held to the Cocceian side of the latter debate. Hence, it is crucial that we give some time to a discussion on these theological disputes. However, to show more clearly how these controversies arose, the era of free enterprise in the Netherlands during the 17th century should first be mentioned.

From The Union of Utrecht in 1579 to the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648, the Netherlands prospered. Central Europe was racked by the war, and England and Spain suffered with internal problems, but the Netherlands "forged ahead on every front."³⁹ This "forging" became even more active after the Netherlands became completely autonomous through the Peace

³⁹ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 111.

of Westphalia (1648). From the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, the Netherlands sailed the open seas, and navigated into the oceans of philosophy, and science. They increasingly became "the intellectual center of the world."⁴⁰ Consequently, the Dutch theologians increasingly involved themselves in theological exploration, or grander polemical discussions; and such discussions led to the Arminian and Cocceian-Voetian controversies.

The Arminian and Cocceian-Voetian disputations were the greatest controversies in the history of the Dutch Reformed Church, if not the greatest in the history of the entire Reformed tradition. In being the greatest debates, there is no doubt that they effected every Dutch Calvinist in those times. Yet, as mentioned earlier, these controversies did not just *generally* affect Lampe, they *directly* affected him. This is true of both, though the Cocceian-Voetian debate had the greater impact. With this said, we now turn to review these controversies and their influence upon Lampe.

Relevant Controversies

It is not the purpose of this study to establish a detailed history surrounding the Arminian and Cocceian-Voetian controversies. Rather, our focus will be strictly limited to those aspects and outcomes that are of a particular interest to Pietism and Lampe.

The Arminian Controversy

Arminianism is named after Jacobus (James) Arminius (1560-1609).⁴¹ However, the school of thought actually originated with the teachings of Diryck Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522-1590).⁴² Coornhert thought that the Reformers had sinned in tearing apart the unity of the Church, and that true religion involved Christian love and unity, which was best expressed

⁴⁰ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 111.

⁴¹ For an excellent edition of his works, see: James Nichols and William Nichols, trans., The Works of James Arminius, by James Arminius, 3 vols. (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1986).

⁴² Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 112.

through freedom of conscience and religious toleration.⁴³ He understood the deterministic logic in Calvinism, and especially the expressed brand in the Netherlands, as being absolutely contrary to such principles and therefore against the very nature of true Christianity. The thing that seemed to bother his religious sensitivities the most was the forensic nature of Reformed soteriology. He inveighed against predestination, the bondage of the will, irresistible grace, and any other doctrine that had an inkling of a forensic quality.⁴⁴

In response to the attacks of Coornhert, the Calvinists of Holland decided to employ their most promising theologian, James Arminius. However, after studying Coornhert's works,⁴⁵ and the Pauline epistles,⁴⁶ Arminius sided with the position of Coornhert. This produced a bitter and prolonged controversy.

The Arminian theological statement, called the *Remonstrance* and consisting of five articles, claimed that superlapsarianism and infralapsarianism were not biblical; that Jesus died for everyone; and that divine sovereignty was compatible to human will.⁴⁷

After several years of intense debate, Arminianism, as presented in the *Remonstrance*, was officially condemned by the famous Synod of Dort in 1618. Furthermore, the Synod of Dort asserted the T.U.L.I.P. doctrine,⁴⁸ drew up 93 canonical rules, and confirmed the authority of both the Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession.⁴⁹

All the actions taken by the Synod of Dort have some direct relevance to our study. However, certain statements within its 93 rules are of a particular concern to us, for they suggest

⁴³ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 112-113.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 113.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Taken from: "Arminianism," The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ This pseudo-acronym stands for: (T) total depravity of man; (U) unconditional election; (L) limited atonement; (I) the irresistibility of grace; (P) the final perseverance of the saints.

⁴⁹ "Synod of Dort," The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed.

certain pietistic "mechanisms" which would latter be utilized by Reformed Pietists, Lampe included. The pietistic "mechanisms" stipulated within the 93 rules of the Synod were:⁵⁰ (1) that all ministers and teachers ascribe to the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, (2) that the orthodoxy of the professors be reviewed under the supervision of provincial synods, (3) that preachers preach catechetical sermons, (4) that Sabbath activity not interfere with such preaching, and (5) that preachers and elders hold weekly meetings for personal edification.

The first two points above correspond to Pietism in that it desired the true presentation of the Word; and as long as the checks and balances of provincial authorities pointed in the direction of the accurate preaching, teaching, and application of the Word, then the Pietists supported such measures. Similarly, the third "mechanism" corresponds to Pietism and to Lampe as well. For Pietists, Lampe included, preached catechetical sermons, or practical instructional sermons, so that persons could properly apply the Word to their lives; and the synod of Dort, by directing all preachers to preach such sermons, assisted in this endeavor. However, the motives of the Synod may have been different. For the Synod, in light of the high emphasis on correct doctrine, may have wanted persons to receive the Word in such a way as to be easily oriented toward the positions of the Church. Yet, for whatever motive, the call for catechetical preaching leaned toward the practical presentation of the Word, and this was an employed technique in Pietism.

The fourth point concerning Sabbath activity also relates directly to Pietism and Lampe. This is so in that the Pietists spoke against any activity on the Sabbath that was not edifying to one's soul. Some Pietists took a strict view here, and claimed that no activity, with the exception of public worship, should take place on the Sabbath. Others, like Lampe, took a more moderate view, and stressed that any activity outside of public worship should only be oriented toward one's spiritual edification.⁵¹ In any case, this decree suggest that the Synod hoped for at least the same Sabbath orientation as that of the moderate Pietists.

⁵⁰ The following five points can be found suggested in: Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 112-113.

⁵¹ This is suggested by Good. See: Good, 391.

Weekly meetings, or the fifth "mechanism" called for by the Synod of Dort, was an institute that would later evolve into conventicles and become the primary instrument for the cause of Pietism.⁵² Again, the motives may be different between the Pietists and the Synod. The Pietists sought one's edification through such meetings, but the Synod, perhaps, sought indoctrination. Even so, the "mechanism" was first officially put in place by the Synod of Dort.

The chief reason for why we have taken time to mention these pietistic "mechanisms" as being evident in the Synod of Dort, is to provide a basis for understanding why many Pietists could claim the authority of Dort and yet still differ from the high Calvinistic doctrine presented therein. For example, many Pietists who claimed the authority of Dort were Cocceians,⁵³ or Covenant theologians; and, due to the concept of covenant, gave allowance to human responsibility within salvation, and therefore differed from the superlapsarianism of the Synod. As for a particular example, Theodore Untereyck (1635-1693), a Cocceian and a key influence in Lampe's thinking, claimed, when defending his home catechetical meetings against the ministerium in Bremen, that the Synod of Dort had ordered him to hold such meetings.⁵⁴ Claiming the Synod in such a way gave impetus to much of what Pietism sought to do.⁵⁵ However, it also gave the Pietists a sense of connection with the roots of Calvinism, and for that reason the "Reformed Pietists were under no great necessity of separation."⁵⁶ Hence, the pietistic "mechanisms" of Dort counter the charge that Pietism sought separation and extremism.

It is highly likely that Lampe claimed the authority of Dort more on the basis of its pietistic "mechanisms" than on its doctrinal positions as well. The main reason for this rests in that

⁵² This is suggested by Good as well. See: Good, 308-311.

⁵³ The Cocceian school of thought is used as an example here because, according to O'Malley, it "helped to undermine the rigidity of the 'high' Calvinist Synod of Dort...." O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 293.

⁵⁴ Good, 328.

⁵⁵ Stoeffler states: "In their effort to proscribe the prevailing laxity in matters pertaining to the Christian life and to restore active piety within the Reformed communion they could claim the authority of the Synod of Dort." Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 116.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Lampe's occasional high Calvinism is dwarfed by his Cocceian moderations to Reformed theology. In addition, this claim may be made in light of the fact that he was influenced by Untereyck, who claimed Dort's authority in this way.

Certainly the post-Dort acceptance of covenant theology in Reformed orthodoxy made possible Goebel's claim concerning Lampe.⁵⁷ But perhaps, by claiming the pietistic "mechanisms" of the Synod of Dort, Lampe helped historians to see less "adulteration" in him and more traditional hyper Calvinism; and therefore, helped inspire such a claim.

We have seen how the Arminian controversy, via the Synod of Dort, contributed to a fuller understanding of Reformed Pietism, and Lampe. Therefore, we now turn our attention to the Cocceian-Voetian controversy.

The Cocceian-Voetian Controversy

Since the Netherlands had an openness toward dialogue but a "shut-door" policy toward the practice of "new" theological constructs, this attitude not only bred controversy, but also bred moderate and rigid factions within the parties involved in any particular controversy. For example, in the Arminian dispute, both moderate and rigid parties within orthodox Calvinism rejected the Remonstrants.⁵⁸ However, the Synod of Dort moved this victory toward the rigid expression of Calvinism, and soon the rigid party claimed the victory in the Arminian controversy and dominance over the moderate groups. Yet, it is a misunderstanding of the Synod to assume that it was a victory for the rigid party,⁵⁹ for within a few decades another controversy arose. This time the debate was not between semi-rigid biblical theology and rigid high predestinationism.⁶⁰ Rather it was between the moderate Calvinists, the Cocceians, who sought a

⁵⁷ See Chapter II, footnote #1.

⁵⁸ McCoy, 18.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

more personal and juristic analogy of the Divine-human relationship through the concept of covenant,⁶¹ and the rigid party, who represented the high-scholastic orthodoxy that developed out of Dort and the infamous "open to dialogue-shut to practice" Dutch mentality. Though some of the same issues (i.e., superlapsarianism) were placed on this table of debate as in the Arminian controversy, this time the victory went to the moderate group. In fact, Cocceius' covenant theology, or Federalism, was affirmed as orthodox, and during the next century it was "to transcend in importance the scholastic position which opposed it."⁶²

In light of this discussion and its relation to the earlier controversy, it is important that some particular details be given, in order to point out how the Cocceian-Voetian dispute directly relates to our study. Again, as it was noted with the Arminian controversy, it is not this writer's intention to go into a detailed history, or review, of the debate, but to only point out the pertinent details.

The Cocceian-Voetian controversy derives its name from Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669) and Gisbert Voetius (1589-1676). Cocceius was born in Bremen and later in 1629 would become a professor of theology there. After teaching in Bremen, he taught at Franeker, and then in 1650 he took a professorship at Leiden, where he would remain for the rest of his life. While at Leiden the controversy began between him and Voetius, a professor at Utrecht. Voetius was a strict Aristotelian scholastic,⁶³ and saw the least deviation from rigid Calvinism as inadmissible;

⁶¹ McCoy, 18.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) formed a concept of a dual nature in theology. This dual nature presented theology as consisting of "knowledge" and "true knowledge." "Theology as 'knowledge' is the exposition of the contents of Scripture in an objective manner: theology as 'true knowledge'...of Scripture is the knowledge which results when Scripture is concretely proclaimed and heard as the *vox Dei*. In the former, theology is publicly studied as a university discipline, whereby the characteristic humanistic tools of classical learning and philology are employed." (O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 19) This understanding, of course, "permitted the reception of Aristotle in the seventeenth-century orthodoxy, as a means of clarifying conceptually the insights of the Reformation vis-à-vis the Counter Reformation....Once the clarity of logic and metaphysics had entered the domain of theology, philosophy increasingly came to have an independent status and its concepts began to influence the content of theology." (Ibid., 44.) Hence, the formation of Protestant Scholastic Aristotelians took place. Voetius bought into this way of thinking, for he held to the Melanchthon dual concept and to Aristotelian categories.

accordingly, his tendency was "prevailingly polemic."⁶⁴ On the other hand, Cocceius was a mild-mannered theologian, who sought a more moderate understanding of the Divine-human relationship through the idea of covenant. Hence, the controversy between the Cocceians and Voetians was a dispute between the moderate and rigid Calvinists.

An underlying emphasis throughout the whole controversy was that the Voetians placed creed above scripture and insisted that the Bible be interpreted in terms of the accepted symbols of the Reformed Church. Contrary to this, the Cocceians held that creeds were to be interpreted in terms of scripture and that orthodoxy was more spacious than the position of the rigid party.⁶⁵ Yet, in addition to these general positions, there were also some particular issues involved in the controversy as well. According to Charles McCoy, the controversy developed around three specific issues:⁶⁶ the issue of the Sabbath, the economies of the covenant, and the forgiveness of sins.

The first issue, which came to the fore in 1656, concerned the proper observance of the Sabbath. Cocceius understood the need of observing the Lord's day for worship. But he also understood that Sabbath observance was to be done out of a genuine love and reverence for the Lord, and not from a strict adherence to a demand in the Old Testament law. "Cocceius regarded the rigid view of Sabbath-observance in the Christian Church of his time as nothing else than a Judaizing position."⁶⁷ The Voetians would agree that the Sabbath must be observed out of love and respect, but would add that the OT commandment to rest on that day was still valid under the Gospel.

The second issue arose in 1662 and it concerned the "economies of the Covenant."⁶⁸ The details to this issue are somewhat unclear, since this aspect of the controversy was cluttered with

⁶⁴ "Voetius," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, vol. 12 (1912).

⁶⁵ McCoy, 29.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 28-36.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 31.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 33.

a large amount of "name-calling." But it seems to have started over Cocceius' approval of a treatise written by one of his students. His approval of this treatise brought about some suspicion from the Voetians concerning his Trinitarian loyalties. In fact, it led to Cocceius being called a Socinian.⁶⁹ This issue of the controversy was not so much of a theological dispute as it was the venting of rage by Voetian professors.⁷⁰ However, some of the Voetians' accusations could have been based on a legitimate confusion over Cocceius' progressive understanding of the eternal covenant partnership.

The third issue in the Cocceian-Voetian controversy was initiated by Voetius himself in 1665.⁷¹ This issue concerned the forgiveness of sins. McCoy summarizes this part of the controversy well. He writes:

Cocceius taught that under the Old Testament there is an overlooking of sin..., not a complete forgiveness erasing all guilt. Under the New Testament, after the atonement of Christ, in which the covenant and testament of God is brought to fulfillment, there is this complete forgiveness of sin.... Voetius took direct exception to this view, saying Cocceius denied that the Patriarchs were justified by faith and could attain eternal life. Cocceius explained that he was not denying salvation through faith to the patriarchs, but rather affirming that their forgiveness was not complete before the work of Christ was complete.⁷²

These issues, while standing on the platform of where to position creed in respect to scripture, were really an expression of a larger conflict. The real conflict, which was alluded to earlier in the introduction to this controversy, was between those who would make Calvinism an "even more stringent, scholastic understanding of the governance of God and those who wished to hold firmly to the personal and juristic language of the Bible."⁷³

⁶⁹ McCoy, 33 ff. Socinianism is named after Faustus Socinus (1539-1604). He understood Christ to be the way to God, but not actually a person of the "the Trinity." For a short, yet detailed, review of this movement, see: Lattourette, *A History of Christianity*, vol. 2, 792-795.

⁷⁰ McCoy, 33.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 34 ff.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 40.

Before concluding this discussion it must be pointed out that though Voetius was on the "rigid" side of the controversy, and was a strict Aristotelian scholastic in his argumentation, he was also very practical. In holding to Melancthon's dual theology,⁷⁴ Voetius understood that "true knowledge" came through the hearing of the Word. But he also understood that correct hearing of the Word only came through correct teaching, and correct teaching rested upon the accepted creeds and symbols of the Reformed Church. With this cognition, Voetius was an astute debater and a rigid Calvinist in order to safe-guard the accepted creeds; and was also a practical activists in that he saw the Dortian pietistic "mechanisms" as being correct symbols of the Reformed Church. Accordingly, he understood that by utilizing them, persons could be instructed by correct teaching and consequently hear the Word of God, and gain "true knowledge."

Lampe was a practical theologian of the Voetian type and was also a follower of Cocceius. In fact, Lampe successfully brought together Voetian practical piety and Cocceian theology. Thus, the practical emphasis of Voetius and the Cocceian point of view within the particular matters of the Cocceian-Voetian controversy are obviously important in understanding him. Therefore, to conclude this portion of our discussion, it is appropriate to show how Lampe *directly* related to the issues involved in the aforementioned controversy.

First, concerning the Sabbath issue, Lampe holds exactly to the Cocceian view.⁷⁵ As Good states:

[Lampe] puts the command of the Sabbath in the ceremonial law, and shows that the apostles had given up the old Sabbath by changing it from the seventh day to the first day of the week. But he also held the Sabbath was a necessity to man, and that there should be a day appointed for public worship. But the Christian should keep Sunday not as a mere ceremonial act, but out of an inner desire to get the rest that God had at the beginning.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ See footnote #63 above.

⁷⁵ Lampe's Sabbath position was alluded to earlier under the discussion concerning the Arminian controversy and the forth pietistic "mechanism" of the Synod of Dort. See page 57 above.

⁷⁶ Good, 391. Brackets mine.

Second, Lampe shares Cocceius' idea of progressive economies in the covenant concept. (Presently, it is only necessary to point out this relationship; for Lampe's view of covenant progression, and its similarities to Cocceius' view, will be discussed in more detail in Part III of this paper.)

In the third issue of the Cocceian-Voetian controversy, there is no doubt that Lampe held to Cocceius' view of the salvation of the Patriarchs. This is primarily suggested in the fact that Lampe, like Cocceius, understood Christ as the "middle point" in the Covenant of Grace.⁷⁷ This means that Lampe understood everything before and after Christ as being fulfilled in Christ. And such a view certainly facilitates Cocceius' claim that the salvation of the Patriarchs was completed in the work of the Son.

So far in this study, the following points have been established: (1) The obscurity of historic Pietism has assisted in Lampe's obscurity in history. (2) Historic Pietism was passive toward controversy, and yet was born within it. Thus, historic Pietism sought reform. (3) Point #2 has been misinterpreted, and negative appraisals and charges have been brought against historic Pietism. (4) Historic Pietism had experiential, practical, Biblical and reformatory traits. (5) Historic Pietism was based on and in the Reformed tradition and/or Reformed Pietism. (6) The fact that Lampe belonged to both the Reformed tradition, and to the "school" of historic Pietism, allows points #2-5 to relate to him. (7) Due to the fact that historic Pietism was based on and in Reformed Pietism, then the history of the latter establishes the early history of the former. Furthermore, the history of Reformed Pietism serves as the greater history surrounding Lampe. (8) In the history of Reformed Pietism, or the greater history of Lampe, there were essential points within the histories of Germany and the Netherlands to be reviewed. For our purposes, the Thirty Years' War was of great importance in the history of Germany. In the history of the Netherlands, the important elements were: the persecution under Alva, the Union of Utrecht, and the proceeding era of free enterprise. (9) The events in Germany and the Netherlands produced a

⁷⁷ Lampe, *Geheimnis des Gnadenbundes*, IV, 10.

common bond between the Calvinists in both countries. This bond had an educational link incorporated within it. (10) This link was important to Lampe, in that it still existed during his life. Because of it, he was able to work and live in both countries. (11) The events in the Netherlands contributed to an era of polemics and to the "Age of Scholasticism". (12) Within this time, two controversies arose--the Arminian and the Cocceian-Voetian. (13) From these two debates Lampe found practical pietistic "mechanisms" and the roots to his own theology. (14) The two debates also contributed to the continuation of cold orthodoxy and rabid scholasticism. Thus, (15) the fourth true trait of historic Pietism, the opposite element, was established as being existent against scholasticism and non-vibrant orthodoxy.

With these fifteen points we have concluded the *general* scene behind Lampe, and procured the three major "schools of influence" in Lampe's life--the Reformed tradition, Cocceianism, and Reformed Pietism. In order to understand Lampe's personal history, and to relate him to the information in the preceding chapters, it is necessary to investigate these "schools" in some detail. Hence, for this purpose, we now turn to chapter IV and "The Schools of Influence".

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOLS OF INFLUENCE

The Reformed Tradition

In the next chapter, Lampe's biographical data will show how he was born and reared in Calvinism; and the discussion on soteriology in Part III of this paper will detail how Lampe utilized and modified aspects of Calvin's soteriological teachings. Hence, as our study progresses, the impact of the Reformed tradition will become increasingly clear. Even so, this particular "school of influence" is intended to highlight particular Reformed institutions that are of a central worth to Lampe. At this point one might call Cocceianism and Reformed Pietism institutions of the Reformed tradition, and be correct in doing so. But here, the term does not suggest movements, but "symbols." Therefore, under this portion of our study, only key symbols within the Reformed tradition, which were important to Lampe, will be discussed. The symbols most influential, or involved, in Lampe's thinking, and/or activity, were the Synod of Dort, the doctrine of predestination, and the Heidelberg Catechism. The impact that the Synod of Dort had upon Lampe and the Pietists has already been addressed (i.e., through the pietistic "mechanisms"). Hence, we begin with the second symbol of the Reformed tradition--the doctrine of predestination.

Good claims that after the Cocceian-Voetian controversy there were four schools of Calvinism, and each school corresponded to a different view of predestination--the supralapsarian, the infralapsarian, the Cocceian, and the sublapsarian views.¹ The supralapsarian view was held by the "high" Calvinists, and was represented in the written articles of the Synod of Dort.² In this form of predestination God elects those who will be saved and those who will not be prior to the

¹ Good, 319.

² An emphasis is put on the term "written" here, for as said earlier, both moderate and rigid Calvinists rejected Arminianism, and though the statements of Dort suggest a supralapsarian view, some held to a more moderate position. But the moderate view of predestination was not championed until Cocceius.

fall. In addition, it is understood that God decreed the fall, but "overruled it for his Glory."³ The apparent contradiction in this was usually left to be considered a mystery of God. But God's decree was never to be considered as an unjust act. For those who are the elect are chosen far beyond any merit of their own, and those who are the reprobate are in accordance with the fallen nature of humanity. In other words, in the fact that God chooses some in light of all of us deserving death makes his decree more than fair. In short, this view follows this order: election, creation, the fall and redemption.

A maturing response to Christ, through whom election is fulfilled, was expressed by Calvin as essential to the knowledge of election. However, the Dortian Calvinists down-played the christocentric or soteriological category of election, and placed predestination under the doctrine of God; where election is solely based on a pre-temporal sovereign decision. In such a view there is no true human responsibility in the divine-human relationship. Accordingly, the Dortian view became a "thorn in the flesh" to many moderate Calvinists, and brought about the next school of thought -- the infralapsarian view.

In the infralapsarian view, God did not decree the fall, but foresaw it and permitted it. He then elected those who would be saved and "left the rest of humanity to die in their sins."⁴ Furthermore, after the election, God provided redemption for those he had set aside for it. In short, this view follows this order: creation, the fall, election, and redemption. However, though a more moderate order, or form of expression, is used here, the "thorn" remains. For though Adam is given responsibility; in that God foreknew the fall, rather than decreed it; there is still no true human responsibility in the post-fall divine-human relationship.

The Cocceian view holds to the same order as the Infralapsarian view, but overlaps this arrangement with the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. The covenant of works existed between creation and the fall and in it humanity had to obey divine legislation. On the

³ Good, 319.

⁴ Ibid.

other hand, the covenant of grace is ushered in after the fall and in it humanity, but is to be an active covenant partner in faith. Therefore, in keeping with the sequence of the infralapsarian view, the Cocceian view sees unconditional election as taking place after the fall and within the covenant of grace. However, what makes this view unique is that in a covenant two parties are brought into agreement, and are obliged to meet the terms of a shared contract. In this case, the parties involved are God and humankind. God kept his side of the salvation contract (i.e., the covenant of grace) by sending Christ. We keep our side by accepting his merits. This acceptance, however, is only possible by God's grace. Hence, man is like a "silent partner" in his salvation from the fall.⁵ This idea of humanity acting within God's action may suggest a tautology to some, but to the moderate Calvinists with the predestination thorn in their flesh, it offered a way to allow for some human responsibility while remaining true to the "by grace alone" motif so well founded in Calvinism. In short, the "plum-line" for the Cocceian view is its willingness to hold to a tension between the concept of unconditional election and covenant obligation.⁶

The next school of Calvinism, or doctrine of predestination, was that of the sublapsarian view. In this view election is seen as happening after redemption. In short, the sequence is: creation, the fall, redemption and election. Good suggest that the emphasis here was on universal atonement and/or salvation. However, there are some derivatives of this view that hold to universal or unlimited atonement, but not to universal salvation. An example of this is Wesleyanism. In "pure" sublapsarianism none are lost. In Wesleyanism, atonement is made for all, but one must choose it by faith in order to gain everlasting life, or election. The order is the same, but the doctrines are entirely different.

Lampe was a Cocceian, and therefore, accepted the moderate tension of the Cocceian infralapsarian view. However, the tension seems more pronounced in Lampe because of his high Calvinist tendencies. There are places in his writings where he seems to adhere more to a strict

⁵ Good, 319.

⁶ The Cocceian view of election is discussed fully in chapter VIII of this paper.

supralapsarian view than to an infralapsarian one.⁷ Yet, in any event, Lampe does not attempt to resolve the mystery of election, and claims that it should be a matter of trust and comfort for the believer.⁸ Furthermore, Lampe believed, in light of the unfathomable love that would produce such a system of redemption, that one should actively respond to election in trusting obedience.⁹ Ultimately, for Lampe, like Cocceius, divine sovereignty and human responsibility are held in constant unresolved tension within the framework of an eternal covenant partnership.

The last symbol of significance for Lampe within the Reformed tradition, was the Heidelberg Catechism. For the purpose of introducing it into our study, and to further develop our historical backdrop for Lampe, we will observe how the Heidelberg Catechism impacted Lampe by looking at the three ways in which he understood it.

First, Lampe understood the Heidelberg Catechism in a practical manner that was similar to Voetius. Voetius saw catechetical instruction as being for correct living as well as for correct teaching.¹⁰ Furthermore, Voetius saw the Heidelberg Catechism as a way for the "proper ordering of life."¹¹ Yet, he understood the Word of God as being correctly heard only within correct teaching, and that correct teaching, or instruction, was based within the creeds and symbols of the Church. Hence, the catechism was to be used for the ordering of one's life toward the propositions of the Church, and these propositions must be presented and understood in the most precise way, in order for there to be "true knowledge."¹² Thus, for "Voetius, the heart of catechetical instruction is the scholastic procedure which leads the Christian, in her inner life, through a systematic advancement in Christian living, characterized by clearness and precision."¹³

⁷ Lampe's view of election is also discussed fully in chapter VIII.

⁸ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 70.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 46.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 46 ff.

¹³ Ibid., 50.

However, though Lampe held to the practical principle of ordering one's life through catechetical instruction, he did not see the Word of God in this instruction as resting in the creeds and symbols of the Church. Rather, he, in holding to the Cocceian view, understood that the catechism contained the essential content of God's Word.¹⁴ In other words, the goal of catechetical instruction was not the catechism in and of itself, but scripture.¹⁵ In summary then, Lampe understood the catechism as having a moral practicality, and as being based in scripture rather than in creed.

The third way that Lampe understood the catechism was in the light of the "prophetic-symbolic"¹⁶ teaching of scripture. The "prophetic-symbolic" method of exegesis was filtered down from Cocceius to Lampe through Campegius Vitringa (1659-1722). This method represents a correlation between prophecy and history in such a way that the former corresponds to the concept of "plan" or "idea," and the latter to "accomplishment" or "realization."¹⁷ Therefore, history is understood as the progressive fulfillment of biblical prophecy. The past is fulfilled prophecy, the present is prophecy being fulfilled, and the future is unfulfilled prophecy. This last point, the future as unfulfilled prophecy, was the chief emphasis of the Cocceian-Vitringa historical reflection of scripture.¹⁸ Moreover, the importance of the "prophetic-symbolic" method of exegesis (or of the Cocceian-Vitringa historical method) rested on the understanding that future history encompasses the past and present. In other words, though prophecy is finding its fulfillment as history continues, the final event will bring consummate meaning to all that has been, and will be, fulfilled. Thus, in understanding prophecy concerning the future, especially that prophecy which concerns the end times, one gains knowledge to the purpose and meaning of the

¹⁴ For the Cocceian view, see: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 48 ff., 67.

¹⁵ Lampe, in being a Cocceian, follows this emphasis, which is brought out in: Ibid.

¹⁶ This term is found in: Ibid., 52 ff.

¹⁷ Ibid., 62.

¹⁸ Ibid., 63.

whole of scripture, since scripture is the source of these prophecies. In addition to this, one also gains knowledge to the purpose and meaning of the entire course of history, since history is the arena in which the actualization of prophecy takes place. This connection between prophecy and history, and therefore, between scripture and history, suggests an idea of harmony and progression. Harmony is suggested in that all points of revelation (i.e., prophecy) are viewed as a whole in light of the end; and the idea of progression is suggested in that all of history, via time, is moving toward the end revealed in prophecy.

In connection with these concepts of harmony and progression, via the prophecy-history relationship, it should be pointed out that Christ is the purpose for it all; for he is at the center of the covenant of grace. All prophecies from the time of the fall to his birth, were directed to him, and all prophecies from his life to the end are based on his promises. Hence, Christ is the center of the harmony and progression in prophecy and history.

These details involved in the "prophetic-symbolic" understanding of scripture added to Lampe's understanding of the character of the Catechism in three ways. First, Lampe, following Cocceius, understood the content of scripture as being represented in the catechism. Now, if scripture was to be understood as a whole, in light of its end, then the Catechism, having the content of scripture, was to be understood as a harmonious whole as well. In fact, to view the Catechism as one "organism" was directly in line with its original authors.¹⁹

The second way in which the "prophetic-symbolic" concepts influenced Lampe's understanding of the Heidelberg Catechism, was by adding to its character the idea of progression. Since, as implied above, there is a "synonymous" link between scripture and the Catechism, and since the former has a characteristic of progression through the prophecy-history relationship, then logically, the Catechism has this characteristic as well. This connection brings a unique quality to Lampe's view of the Catechism; for as he held to the Voetian emphasis, that the catechism was for the practical ordering of one's life, he also saw that "ordering" as being a

¹⁹ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 51.

continual event, moving a person ever closer to one's final goal. Therefore, the catechism was oriented around his "detailed structuring of the order of salvation (*Heilsordnung*)."²⁰ In light of this fact, the catechism was to be of a constant value, and implemented as a primary practical means of continually appropriating grace.

Finally, the third impact that the "prophetic-symbolic" method had on Lampe's view of the Heidelberg Catechism, was that it gave Lampe's understanding a chiliastic demeanor. As mentioned earlier, in the "prophetic-symbolic" method, future history is understood as holding the final event that will bring consummate meaning to all that has been, and will be, fulfilled. A byproduct of such thinking is the "periodization" of history; where history is divided into periods that emphasize times of prophetic fulfillment that elapse into the final period -- the Kingdom of God on earth. Now, Lampe, as will be shown later in this study, held to such a practice, and organized the *Heilsordnung* in relation to the periods of history, and vice versa, through an analogy with creation.²¹ Hence, since Lampe's exposition of the Heidelberg Catechism was organized around his *Heilsordnung*, one can deduce that Lampe understood the Catechism as being oriented toward the progression of history, or toward the advancement of the Kingdom of God. In other words, in light of all this, it would appear that for Lampe the Catechism not only instructed and prepared persons for the Kingdom of God, but in doing so, it also assisted in the very arrival of that kingdom as well.²²

In understanding Lampe's joint practical, biblical, harmonious, progressive, and eschatological view of the Heidelberg Catechism, one is far more prepared to examine the intricacies involved in the thesis topic. Yet, even though this discussion has formed a general knowledge in which to better understand Lampe's order of salvation, comprehension of history, and the role of the individual, it has also given us an insight into his methodology and motives for

²⁰ James Tanis, "The Heidelberg Catechism in the Hands of the Calvinistic Pietists," Reformed Review 24, no. 3 (Spring 1971): 157.

²¹ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 76.

²² Ibid., 68.

ministry. Lampe did not catechize to indoctrinate, or to meet some ministerial standard, but he catechized to change lives, and to encourage daily Christian living. But most of all, he catechized to build and hasten the Kingdom of God.

In conclusion, Lampe gained the following from the Reformed tradition: (1) the pietistic "mechanisms," from the Synod of Dort, which he could lean on for authority; (2) an emphasis on, and divisions in, the important doctrine of predestination, which helped him identify and claim the tension within the covenant infralapsarian view; and (3) the Heidelberg Catechism, which he saw as having a practical, biblical, harmonious, progressive, and eschatological character.

With these points established, Lampe has come into better focus. Yet to proceed in this "focusing" process and to move closer to its completion, we now turn to the next "school of influence" behind Lampe--Cocceianism.

Cocceianism

All the Cocceian particulars mentioned thus far (i.e., the Cocceian view of the Sabbath, the Cocceian idea of covenant and election, and the Cocceian emphases on the Heidelberg Catechism) have given us some insight into the Cocceian scheme, but they have only been the visible outcome of the underlying properties of Cocceianism. Furthermore, it has either been directly stated or partially suggested throughout this paper that Lampe's theological constructs are primarily Cocceian. However, Lampe is considered by some as not just a genuine follower of Cocceius, but "the great spokesman of this circle."²³ Therefore, it is all the more important that we examine the basic properties of Cocceianism, which consist of five unique approaches within Federal theology.²⁴ These "approaches" are:²⁵ (1) a central biblicism, (2) a liberation from philosophy, (3)

²³ Gottlob Schrenk, Gottesreich und Bund im Alteren Protestantismus (Gutersloh: Gutersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1923), 304.

²⁴ Federal theology is Covenant theology. The terms are virtually interchangeable. (See: McCoy and Baker, Fountainhead of Federalism, 11 ff.) Moreover, "Traces of the federal [covenant] idea, for which Coccejus is known, can...be found in the writings of Zwingli [(Ulrich Zwingli, 1484-1531)]. It is [also] embodied in Bullinger's [(Johann Heinrich Bullinger, 1504-1575)] writings and, of course, in those of Olevianus [(Casper Olevianus, 1536-1587)]." Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 114. Brackets mine.

an emphasis on the proper interpretation of scripture, (4) a unique historical methodology, and (5) a covenantal view of human nature.

Before moving into the discussion of these points, it must be clearly understood that these "approaches," *directly* relate to Lampe's theological construction. In other words, where exceptions are otherwise pointed out, the following Cocceian "approaches" to Federal theology should be considered as Lampean "approaches" as well.²⁶

The first "approach" of Cocceian theology is that it is biblical. "Cocceius intended throughout to base his theology on the revelation of God through scripture."²⁷ And with scripture being the medium of God's revelation, Cocceius understood that it "carries its own validation."²⁸ According to Cocceius, a theologian could examine scripture with other scriptures, and with "outside" sources as well; and any presumed discrepancies could be discussed and evaluated within their set context. Yet, over all, scripture was not to be considered as being in error, and was to be understood as being eternally guarded from error through the providence of God.²⁹

Since the Bible, according to Cocceius, is God's planned medium for his self-revelation, and since God guides and protects that revelational medium; then, accordingly, the Holy Spirit has to be responsible for the proper interpretation of such a divinely inspired book.³⁰ Moreover, one can only "hear" the Holy Spirit if he or she is in a faith relationship with God, and faith comes

²⁵ These five "approaches" are taken from: McCoy and Baker, 74 ff.

²⁶ This claim has been made for the sake of introduction and simplicity. It will be fully substantiated with the material presented in Part III of this paper.

²⁷ McCoy and Baker, 74.

²⁸ McCoy, 125.

²⁹ This fact is deduced from the comments O'Malley makes concerning Lampe. O'Malley states that Lampe, as a Cocceian, understood the data in scripture as being divinely inspired and therefore could not be criticized. However, Lampe admitted that there was the possibility of "certain errors," but saw scripture as not suffering damage from it because divine Providence has kept watch over it. (See: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 67.) Thus, it is possible to conclude that Cocceius himself held to this understanding, or that he saw no errors what so ever. But in either case the outcome is the same: that, in the end, scripture is entirely sound.

³⁰ Cocceius understood that the words of Scripture "illuminated by the Holy Spirit reveal to man the Word of God." McCoy, 131.

from God.³¹ Consequently, the beginning and end, or conception and purpose of scripture rest in God's gracious activity. In light of this, reason and tradition play an insignificant role, if any, in understanding and interpreting the divinely inspired Word. As mentioned earlier, critical evaluation can take place, and even philosophical method can be employed, but Cocceius maintains throughout that theology is to rest upon faith given by revelation of God through scripture, and not upon reason.³² "Reason is the servant of theology not its master."³³ Correspondingly, this does not mean that Cocceius rejected rational and traditional creeds. Rather, as implied in the earlier discussion concerning the Cocceian/Lampean understanding of the Heidelberg Catechism, Cocceius simply insisted on the primacy of the Bible in relation to all church doctrine, symbols and rationale.³⁴

Cocceius understood scripture as one harmonious whole under the covenant of grace, and understood the covenant of grace, as well as the Old and New Testaments in particular, as finding their center point in Christ. Thus, in light of the centrality of Christ and the harmony between the Old and the New Testaments, there exist for Cocceius, the concept of development before and after Christ. Hence, much time is given in both Cocceius and Lampe to the preparation in history leading up to Christ and the events following his life, but very little is given to the life of Christ itself.³⁵ Furthermore, within the cocceian biblical concept of harmony and Christocentric development, there is the implementation of a Christ-oriented typology, (this is extremely evident in Lampe),³⁶ and the "prophetic-symbolic" method. Both of these aspects overlap in their meaning. The first term (i.e., typology) primarily deals with symbolic cross-references to Christ;

³¹ McCoy, 131.

³² Ibid., 126.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ McCoy and Baker, 74.

³⁵ See: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 67.

³⁶ As O'Malley points out: "Like Vitringa, [Lampe] sought to demonstrate the 'prototypical' meaning of the biblical figures, and he found no less than twenty-five parallels between Adam and Christ." Ibid. Brackets mine.

like the Pauline concept of Christ as the second Adam. The latter phrase (i.e., "prophetic-symbolic") deals with symbolic/historical expressions within prophecy, which point to future events within history that correspond to the promises of Christ and his Kingdom. The key difference is that typology applies symbolism to bring an added christocentric definition to historical events; while the "prophetic-symbolic" method speaks of a christocentric history being applied to prophetic symbolism in order to find the true meaning of both the symbolic expression and the historical event itself.

In summary, it can be said that the first Cocceian "approach" to theology (i.e., that theology is to be entirely biblical), and Lampe, since he shared this approach,³⁷ promote scripture as: (1) the beginning and end of theology, for it is the medium of God's revelation; (2) the divinely inspired, guided, and protected words of God; (3) a book valid in its own definition; thus reason serves its purpose; (4) a harmonious and historically progressive whole oriented toward and based in Christ; and (5) the book where the full knowledge of the covenant of grace, as revealed in history, is revealed to those believing in faith.

The second Cocceian "approach" to theology claims that theology is to be independent of philosophy. Since Cocceius understands the basis of all theology as resting upon scripture and that scripture is revelation about God, through God, and for the purposes of God; then there is no need for philosophy within theology, for theology is totally dependent on revelation. Though such a view may cause pain in the ears of many modern thinkers, it was, in Cocceius' day, a substantial step in the right direction for the development of theology. For Cocceius' emphasis on revelation broke from the prevalent Aristotelian scholasticism. In fact, Cocceius replaced the use of the latter in dogmatics with the "investigation of the Scripture, and the study of the Hebrew language."³⁸ Even so, Cocceius still allowed for persons to study philosophy, to make use of

³⁷ See footnote #44 below.

³⁸ McCoy and Baker, 75.

rational powers,³⁹ and to use some philosophical methodologies. In fact, Cocceius himself employed the "doubt principle" of Cartesian philosophy within his work.⁴⁰ As Good states:

He proposed to apply the Cartesian principle (that everything must be proved, in order to be believed) to theology. He agreed with Descartes in his method, but differed from him in its source, as he made the Scriptures the rule of faith, instead of reason. As Descartes had said, 'I think, therefore I believe,' he said, 'The Scriptures declare it, and therefore I believe.'⁴¹

Even though Cocceius utilized the Cartesian principle, and even though Cartesian philosophy and Cocceianism had a similar hatred for scholasticism and traditional authority, it is the difference, rather than the similarities between the two, that must be constantly held in view.⁴² In a nut shell, Cocceius, rather than being a Scholastic or a Cartesian, intended only to be a Biblical theologian.⁴³ The same can be said for Lampe, in that he concurs to all of the above.⁴⁴

The third unique "approach" of Cocceian/Lampean theology is its emphasis on interpretation. There are five characteristics that are involved in the Cocceian/Lampean understanding of interpretation and hermeneutical method. First, Cocceius understood scripture to be the Word of God revealed and interpreted through the Holy Spirit. With Cocceianism, this fact is the "controlling source of all sound Christian doctrine."⁴⁵

³⁹ McCoy and Baker, 74.

⁴⁰ Cartesian philosophy is named after Rene' Descartes (1596-1650), whose primary tenet is listed in the following quote by Good in the body of this paper.

⁴¹ Good, 316.

⁴² As McCoy states: "To be sure, there is a certain kinship between Cartesianism and Cocceianism. Both were anti-scholastic; both sought to cast off the fetters of traditional authority; both also insisted on the importance of first-hand and careful appraisal of the problem. Yet their differences are even more important than these similarities." McCoy, 139.

⁴³ Ibid., 140.

⁴⁴ O'Malley states forthrightly: "As a Cocceian, Lampe was, above all, a biblical theologian...." O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 67.

⁴⁵ McCoy, 141.

The second factor in the Cocceian view of interpretation is "that the Bible must be interpreted as an organic whole."⁴⁶ McCoy succinctly explains Cocceius' understanding on this point when he writes:

He sought to see Scripture in its entirety as conveying the Word of God, spoken and written for the salvation of the sinful world. This element in his hermeneutics marks him off clearly from the scholastics. His basic, and oft-quoted, principle of interpretation is: "The words mean what they can signify within the whole context."⁴⁷

The third factor in Cocceian/Lampean interpretation is that one must approach scripture to discover meaning, not to confirm dogma. "Interpretation of the Scripture is by exegesis, *from* Scripture, not by eisegesis, *into* Scripture."⁴⁸ Furthermore, Cocceius states:

The perversion of Scripture does not arise from its obscurity, but from a pre-judgment about the things treated of therein, or from haste of the interpreter.⁴⁹

The fourth characteristic of the Cocceian approach to interpretation is that there should not be any kind of individual interpretation. This is not to suggest that there can never be varying interpretations, rather the point here is that one person's interpretation should not be placed above another's. For Cocceius, the Bible is "broad enough to sustain a variety of interpretation and deep enough to contain within itself many meanings."⁵⁰ However, this is not to suggest that scripture is a mass of inconsistency. Instead, what Cocceius means is that scripture has a divine unity while at the same time it has an earthly diversity. From the divine point of view, the Word is a single unity, but from the human perspective, there is room for diversity; and with diversity, there is room for growth and development.⁵¹ Thus, in light of this view, the proper study of the Word is

⁴⁶ McCoy and Baker, 75.

⁴⁷ McCoy, 141.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 144.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 144-145.

⁵¹ Ibid., 145.

essential, so that one may move into the direction of comprehending the divine unity, and in turn, identify her proper position within the scope of things. This challenge for proper study would be carried out by some Cocceians in the form of a stringent academic exercise. But Lampe understood the proper study of the Word, and one's movement toward its "true" interpretation, as being carried out in one's daily life for the purpose of achieving holiness.⁵²

The final characteristic of the Cocceian view of interpretation and hermeneutical method is that all of scripture is centered around Christ. Lampe states that Christ is the "soul of the entire Word."⁵³ In addition, Cocceius and Lampe, as stated earlier, understood Christ as the center point of the covenant of grace. The Old Testament is the preparatory history leading to Christ, and the New Testament is the history of Christ in the flesh and the exposition of the future history of his kingdom. Hence, Christ is found everywhere in scripture. At one point he is the underlying basis of the law and promise. At another, he is the object of prophecy, until at last in the Gospel, God incarnate is made manifest.⁵⁴ In short, the covenant of grace, with Christ as its content and sponsor, is proclaimed in both the Old and New Testaments.⁵⁵

In summary, the Cocceian/Lampean view of interpretation includes the following aspects: (1) scripture is revealed and interpreted through the Holy Spirit; (2) scripture is to be interpreted as an organic whole; (3) scripture should be studied for meaning, and not for the confirmation of held doctrines; (4) scripture has a divine unity and a human diversity that lends toward development in the human understanding; and (5) scripture is centered upon Christ.

The fourth Cocceian/Lampean "approach" to theology is that of a unique historical methodology. The pre-creation existence and the post-creation historical progression of the

⁵² It is clear that Lampe considered the observance and study of the Word as a means of achieving perfect holiness, for he states: "Among the means to be used...observing the Word of God for the purpose of becoming holy...." Cited in O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 319.

⁵³ *Geheimnis* I, 164.

⁵⁴ McCoy, 146.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

concept of the covenant are the two fundamental principles within the Cocceian/Lampean historical method. Hence, the examination of these points will serve as the basis for this portion of our discussion.⁵⁶

The first basic principle of the Cocceian/Lampean idea of covenant is that it first exists in the Trinity. In other words, the persons of the Trinity contracted the plan of salvation among themselves. This is clearly stated by Lampe when he writes:

Who can comprehend that there is one person in God's nature who demands a satisfaction, another who does the same, and one other who they dedicate to the task; or who can comprehend that the three took a deliberation over it, and divided this distinct work among themselves, and that through this they took on separate representations among themselves for sinners...?⁵⁷

The second basic principle of the idea of covenant is that it is progressive. Cocceius identifies that there was a covenant of works prior to the fall and a covenant of grace after the fall, yet he understands them both as part of one eternal covenant between God and humanity. Humanity falls, and abrogates the original covenant of works, and following "the fall into sin, God establishes the covenant of grace with humanity, within which faith takes the place of works."⁵⁸ This covenant of grace then unfolds toward its fulfillment in Jesus Christ, and then proceeds toward the fulfillment of his promised kingdom. Furthermore, as this covenant moves toward, through, and from Christ, it appears, in the perspective of humanity, as taking place in "phases or economies."⁵⁹ All of this is what makes up the eternal covenant.

God is creator and covenant designer and knows its ultimate purpose and end. Hence, he is ruler of its motion toward fulfillment. In short, God is the ruler of history. Obviously then, he decides to bring about the next "steps" within the covenant, which are correspondingly

⁵⁶ In a similar fashion to that of the previous discussion on interpretation, some things already said about the covenant concept will be re-mentioned in order to establish continuity with additional information.

⁵⁷ *Geheimnis*, I, 53.

⁵⁸ McCoy and Baker, 77.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 76.

represented by new eras or periods within history (i.e., phases or economies). However, a covenant by definition involves two parties, and therefore, these phases in history can not be entirely based on the determination of God alone; for then the progression of the covenant would be entirely dependent on him, and if the particular steps are totally dependent on him, then the end result is as well. This would nullify the two party definition. Therefore, God incorporates humanity as a participant within the progression.⁶⁰ Now, some might think that this suggests that God's actions are dependent on the actions of humanity. But such thinking misses the point here. For in the Cocceian/Lampean understanding, human action is not a juxtaposed autonomous reality to God, which is at some point incorporated into his plan, but rather the will or action of humanity is designed from the start as a cooperative element within God's creative purpose.⁶¹ (This point will be discussed more in Part III of this paper.) *Thus, the important thing to note here is that there is a synergistic nature within the concept of covenant, and this implies that humanity is involved in the progression of salvation history.*

All of this, the covenant of works, the covenant of grace, the two being a part of an eternal covenant, the christocentric, progressive and synergistic nature of that covenant, etc., form the "framework of meaning in the Bible...."⁶² It is also evident that all of the above forms the framework of meaning within history as well. Hence, the link between scripture and history, is obviously the construct of covenant. However, the divinely ordained "wire" between scripture and history, through which flows the unfolding current of the eternal covenant, is that of

⁶⁰ According to O'Malley, Lampe affirmed that the "believer is a witness to and a participant in the transformation of nature and history by the kingdom of Christ...." (See: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 68.) Furthermore, Lampe states that the "sinner is still one party in the covenant of grace...." Geheimnis, I, 108.

⁶¹ This point is clearly evident in Lampe. For example, the following statement, though concerning salvation, directly implies a synergistic motif. Lampe states:: "So, as the sinner could not possibly devise a savior for himself, then it is reasonable that he only *accepts* him who is pointed out to him by God, but also *accepts* him in the form in which he is made by God as well. To express everything in two small words, whereby the correct *acceptance* is distinguished from an imaginary one, Christ must be *accepted* (1) alone, and (2) entirely." Geheimnis, I, 290. Emphases mine.

⁶² McCoy and Baker, 76.

prophecy. As one understands prophecy, one is able to more accurately identify the nature of the covenant within and between scripture and history.

Yet how are prophecies to be properly understood?⁶³ As stated earlier, Cocceius stressed that all scripture, and therefore all prophecy in scripture, is to be viewed in its entire context. Now since the idea of covenant begins with the Trinity, envelopes creation, the fall, and includes humanity; and since scripture is the medium of the Trinity's self-revelation to humanity, then there is no doubt that the whole context of scripture rests in the idea of covenant. Accordingly prophecies need to be viewed in the context of the covenant of grace. And, in light of the christocentrism of the covenant, they must be viewed in the context of Christ. Furthermore, if the covenant of grace moves toward its culmination in history, and if history is divinely ordained as the road for this movement, then all of history is oriented toward Christ as well. Now, if history is to be viewed in the context of Christ, and prophecies are also to be viewed in the context of Christ, then the link between scripture and history is ultimately Christ.⁶⁴ Thus, it is this fact that primarily stands behind the "prophetic-symbolic" method of exegesis: Prophecy is understood as having Christ as its content; and historical occurrences set within the overall context of Christ and his kingdom are understood as prophecy's fulfillment.⁶⁵ In light of this, emphasis within the "prophetic-symbolic" method is not placed on prophecies already fulfilled, but rather on those

⁶³ Grete Möller gives attention to this question in light of the Cocceian "combination of prophecy and history" within his excellent article on Federalism in the 17th and 18th centuries. See: Grete Möller, "*Föderalismus und Geschichtsbetrachtung im XVII und XVIII Jahrhundert*," 415 ff.

⁶⁴ Concerning the Cocceian/Lampean understanding of history, Möller writes: "Christ is the true content of the gradually advancing revelation.... Christ is Lord of the whole development in salvation history, from the movement of the pact between the Father and the Son, up to that movement when the Son delivers up the kingdom to the Father. He is the Lord of the Church. He guides and directs it, and leads the Kingdom through the seven steps of its development to the consummation of history. His day is the measure of all time, his appearance in the flesh is the middle point of history, his return is its end." Möller, 406-407.

⁶⁵ Möller points out that Lampe clearly held this view. He states: "Lampe is a good example..., in that every possible secular historical event is explained as fulfillment of prophecy." Möller, 417. For more detail on Lampe's view here, see: *Geheimnis*, I, 49 ff.

unfulfilled prophecies concerning the kingdom of Christ.⁶⁶ Hence, there arises an eschatological emphasis in the Cocceian/Lampean understanding of the covenant of grace.

This christocentric and progressive, or eschatological, methodology is adopted by Lampe and is combined with a strong pietistic concern for an individual's appropriation of grace. The result is that Lampe understands individuals, when accepting Christ,⁶⁷ as not only stepping into the body of the Church, but, in a sense, as stepping into history as well.⁶⁸ Hence, Cocceius' historical method plays a central role in Lampe; for it links the individual to history through the concept of covenanting with the Son.⁶⁹

In summary, the unique historical method of Cocceianism, which revolves around the idea of a christocentric covenant, which in turn is comprised of the two fundamental principles -- that the covenant exists among the members of the Trinity and that the covenant is progressive -- can be delineated in the following way: (1) the covenant emanates from within the Trinity itself; (2) the covenant is twofold, divided between a covenant of works and a covenant of grace; (3) the latter covenant is established after the fall, hence the fall is established as part of the covenant progression;⁷⁰ (4) the covenant of grace is based in, and framed by, the revelation and manifestation of Christ; (5) the covenant progresses through history and thus, involves history; (6) due to the two-party nature of the idea of covenant, humans have an active participation within the historical progression of the covenant as designed by God's sovereignty and grace; (7) the

⁶⁶ This is pointed out in Möller when he writes that "the entire interest of the Cocceian contemplation of history hangs on the future and on the prophecies not yet fulfilled." Möller , 419.

⁶⁷ See the emphases on an individual's acceptance of Christ in footnote # 61 above.

⁶⁸ Lampe's position here will be made clear in chapter VIII of this paper. Specifically, one may refer to the "Synthesis and Summation" section of Part III on pages 257 ff..

⁶⁹ All of this is in agreement with the following Cocceian principle: "Since Christ is, so to speak, the principle for the formation of human history, then faith in him, which places individual Christians into this great relationship, is essentially faith in history: the individual man consciously fits into a greater whole, which has been revealed to him through the Bible as a divine plan." Möller , 411.

⁷⁰ This is alluded too in Möller 's discussion on the essential meaning of the incarnation of Christ within Cocceian theology. (See: Möller , 409 ff.) In addition, this issue will be reviewed in Part III of this paper.

covenant incorporates prophecy as the link between its progressive revelation in scripture and the actual moments in history when it (the covenant) is to further progress; (8) the covenant has its progression in history collated into certain economies or periods in response to God's divine and mysterious plan, and these periods are alluded to in prophecy; and finally, (9) due to the progression and christocentric nature of the concept of covenant, the covenant of grace has an eschatological emphasis.

The fifth and final unique Cocceian/Lampean "approach" to theology is that there is an emphasis on a covenantal view of human nature. The fact that humans are made as covenant partners and that they participate in the covenant's historical process has been made clear in the preceding discourse. Yet, to further understand Cocceius' and Lampe's thought, it is important to note a few *particular* aspects of the divine-human relationship within the broader Cocceian concept of covenant.

The first "particular" to be identified is that the covenant relationship designed between God and humanity affects all human experience. This, of course, can easily be deduced from the fact that the covenant involves spiritual and historical reality, and that all human experience lies within these two spheres. Though this is a simplistic deduction, there are two major implications under this point that contribute to making the Cocceian view of human nature unique. First, since all of human experience lies within the covenant, this means that all human interaction is based on the concept of covenant as well. Thus, any good in society "must be seen, not as a result of human goodness, but as a social achievement resulting from the interaction of humans in covenant as God's grace works in the redeeming activity of historical process."⁷¹ Any evil in society is understood as a result of "rebellion against God and unfaithfulness to the covenant with God and to the covenants of human society."⁷² In other words, when persons respond positively to the

⁷¹ McCoy and Baker, 78.

⁷² Ibid.

concept of covenant, they will effect society positively, if they respond negatively, then they will have a negative impact on society.

In addition, when a person positively responds, or interacts with the covenant of grace, they are in line with the process of the covenant, or open to change and growth. On the other hand, when a person is sinful, or rebellious against the covenant plan, then they are resistant to change and growth, and deny the process in which they were created.⁷³ Hence, one's sin does not only impact one's own personal growth, but also that of other persons. This is nothing new, if one is strictly speaking of spiritual growth, but the emphasis here is on historical process. In other words, one's sin has an impact on the progression of the covenant. Does this mean that sin can retard the covenant process; or that God, in light of his decree of election, simply incorporates sin and negative activity into his plan? This question lies at the heart of the thesis topic, and will be dealt with in more detail later. However, the important thing to note here is that sinful human nature is not understood as being in or out of a proper relationship with God in traditional terms, but rather as being out of relationship with his image in terms of the covenant process.⁷⁴

In understanding the relationship that an individual plays in the covenant, Lampe, like Cocceius, held to the fact that sin placed the individual out of "synch" with the divine process. However, where Lampe puts more emphasis on the psychological impact of sin and on the traditional relational understanding of depravity (i.e., where sin has broken one's relation with God and corrupted one's intended image), Cocceius puts more emphasis on the concepts of the corruption of human activity and of being out of "synch."⁷⁵ Nevertheless, with both men, the traditional Reformed doctrine of total depravity is, of course, upheld.

The second implication of the fact that the concept of covenant touches all aspects of human experience, is that humanity and nature are also in covenant relationship. The

⁷³ McCoy and Baker, 78.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Lampe's and Cocceius' views of sin, or the universal effects of the fall, are discussed in chapter VII.

ramifications of this are similar to the ones above; for as humanity responds to the covenant of grace, nature bears its impact. Yet more important than this apparent environmental ramification is that Cocceius understood the organismic system in nature as a model for how the progression of the covenant should take place. All things in nature go through a process of growth, and this is how the covenant of grace is to be understood. Furthermore, nature goes through various seasons and times, through which such growth is carried out. This too is the nature of the covenant; for God adheres to certain times in which to bring about his purposes, like a farmer adheres to the seasons in order to bring forth his crops.⁷⁶ Thus, "natural" time is a divine tool within the covenant process.⁷⁷ As time links hours into days, days into weeks, and weeks into seasons, periods or seasons are produced within the covenant progression. This is important to note here in that the periodization of history is central to the Cocceian/Lampean view of how prophecy and history unfold. Interestingly, this central Lampean element stems primarily from the covenant progression that Cocceianism sees modeled in nature.⁷⁸

The second and last "particular" to be observed under the fact that humans are covenant partners with God is that diversity and plurality among humanity find unity in the covenant.⁷⁹ It has already been expressed that all of human experience, nature, and history play into the design of the covenant. Thus, it is obvious that all diversity within human experience falls under the single unity of the one eternal process. However, there is more to the last "particular" than this deduction. For since all human diversity and experience comes under the unifying canopy of the

⁷⁶ Vitringa makes this Cocceian "time" connection by placing "a quotation from Origen as a motto for his *Hypotyposis*, in which the work of God in the Church is compared with that of a farmer in his field. Both God and a farmer act in harmony with the times...." In addition to presenting this information on Vitringa, Möller adds: "The core theological thought behind the idea of time is that God acts in the economy of salvation history. In other words, he adheres to certain times and periods." Möller, 420.

⁷⁷ In connection with the Cocceian concept of time, Möller states: "Time is not only a form of perception and a principle of order, but the idea of duration and sequence is also, right from the start, connected with the idea of substance. Time, in which an event comes to pass, is nothing accidental or superficial, but is by divine emplacement, and essentially belongs to unite determined events." Möller, 420.

⁷⁸ The similarities and differences between Lampe and Cocceius on this point are brought out in chapter VI.

⁷⁹ McCoy and Baker, 77-78.

covenant, then not only does our actions against it effect our interactions with each other and nature, but our interactions effect the covenant of grace itself. More specifically, what is being suggested here is that as one works for or against the various, or diverse, covenant models within nature and society (i.e., social or business contracts, environmental care, etc.), then the unifying covenant of grace is impacted either positively or negatively. One cannot honor or abuse others and not honor or abuse their own covenant relationship with God. In short, this "particular" is the reciprocal of the last "particular".⁸⁰ Hence, this point reiterates that humans are created as covenantal and social beings, and claims that all covenant models are to be responsive to the covenant concept of God.⁸¹

In summary, the Cocceian/Lampean covenantal view of human nature consists of the following facts: (1) humans are created as covenantal beings; (2) all of human experience is impacted by the divine covenant; (3) human interaction takes place in response to the covenant of grace; (4) human interaction bears evidence to one's own relationship to the covenant of grace; (5) human interaction with nature is in response to the covenant of grace; (6) in nature one discovers the natural models for covenantal progression; and (7) sinful nature, in addition to traditional views, is given the character of being out of "synch" with the progression of the covenant.

In reviewing the five unique theological "approaches" of Cocceianism (i.e., a central biblicism, a liberation from philosophy, an emphasis on interpretation, a unique historical methodology, and a covenantal view of human nature), we have laid the primary theological footing for Lampe. However, one must remember that Lampe represented a conglomeration of ideas taken from the Reformed tradition, Cocceianism and Reformed Pietism. The Reformed symbols and Cocceian "approaches" have been mentioned, but a full understanding of who Lampe

⁸⁰ The element of "revelatory reciprocity" that is suggested here will be more thoroughly discussed in chapter VI of this paper.

⁸¹ Ibid., 78.

was, and what his thought represented, can not be fully known without reviewing the final "school of influence" -- Reformed Pietism.

There have been many Reformed pietistic themes already presented in the first two "schools of influence." For example, there were: (1) the pietistic "mechanisms" of Dort; (2) the pietistic emphases on catechization; (3) the constant pietistic motifs of Christ and scriptural centeredness; and (4) the pietistic themes of human responsibility and social interaction within the progressive concept of covenant. However, the full impact of historic pietism upon Lampe, and consequently, his full connection to Reformed Pietism, have not been fully recognized. Hence, in order to fully identify Lampe with Pietism; to relate him to the preceding "schools of influence"; and to carry this study into a review of his biographical data; we now turn to examine the last category of influence upon his life--Reformed Pietism.

Reformed Pietism

The earlier discourse (chapter 3), on the essential historical events within the histories of Germany and the Netherlands, has laid an adequate historical foundation for the formation of Reformed Pietism as it relates to this study. Furthermore, an investigation into all of the possible Pietist influences on Lampe is not intended here; for such a task would go far beyond the scope of this study. Thus, in light of these delimitations, and for the specific task of completing the most evident Pietist backdrop for Lampe, only two key influences in Reformed Pietism will be discussed under this "school of influence." Jadocus van Lodensteyn (1620-1677) and Theodor Untereyck (1635-1693) are the two key influences to be reviewed; for these men played specific roles in the establishment of the traditional themes within historic pietism; the Dutch-German connection; and in Lampe's ministry and thinking.

Jadocus van Lodensteyn

Jadocus van Lodensteyn was born in Delft, Holland in 1620. He studied theology by his own choosing at Utrecht and Franeker. While at the latter he studied under Cocceius, while at the

former he studied under Voetius. Hence, two primary theological views found later in Lampe were taught to Lodensteyn.

It is also possible that Lodensteyn was influenced by the Puritan teachings of the great William Ames (1576-1633).⁸² Lodensteyn is considered, along with William Teellink (1579-1629) and William Ames, as one of the "Illustrious Trio," or as one of the first persons responsible for establishing the tenets of Reformed Pietism (or the true traits of historic Pietism) in the Netherlands, as well as in history.⁸³ Lodensteyn is given this station for two reasons. First, his personal dedication was a mark above the rest in the history of early Pietism.⁸⁴ Second, his vibrant preaching and practices were fresh expressions of Reformed piety.

As a child, Lampe came into contact with the Lodensteynian "expressions" through his grandfather, and later implemented them directly into his own preaching and ministry. This influence is evident by several Lodensteynian parallels found within Lampe's works. In particular, there are four main emphases shared between them: (1) the idea of inspired contemplation within salvation; (2) movement toward perfection as being the highest duty of humanity; (3) self-denial and the total concentration of one's life as being the essentials in Christian living; and (4) the goal of humanity as being the glory of God.

In regard to the first emphasis, Lodensteyn understood conversion as primarily involving the "illumination of the intellect by the Holy Spirit."⁸⁵ Moreover, he thought that through the Holy Spirit's illumination, one understands scripture; learns to meditate on the attributes and character of God; becomes aware of one's insufficiency in light of God's revealed nature; and

⁸² This is implied by Stoeffler. See: Stoeffler, *Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, 142. Stoeffler comments at another point, that if "W. Teellink may be regarded as the father of Reformed Pietism William Amesius, or Ames,...should be thought of as its first theologian." *Ibid.*, 133.

⁸³ Stoeffler calls these three the "Illustrious Trio." In addition, Stoeffler makes note that Teellink is considered by Dutch writers as the true originator of Reformed Pietism. *Ibid.*, 127 ff.

⁸⁴ Stoeffler notes that Lodensteyn was "truly a great man," and that it "would be difficult to name a man who was more wholly devoted to the objectives of the Christian ministry...." *Ibid.*, 142.

⁸⁵ Stoeffler, *Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, 144. Also see Brown, *The Problem of Subjectivism*, 66.

finally becomes inflamed with love, which leads to conversion. This conversion is then characterized by a life of self denial and consecration.⁸⁶

We have already seen that Lampe, in holding with the Cocceian view of interpretation, understood that scripture had to be revealed to a person through the Holy Spirit. However, this is only a coincidental parallel with Lodensteyn. But non-coincidentally, Lampe understood the process of salvation as beginning with the Spirit's powerful appeal, and that this appeal "persuades the mind and moves the heart."⁸⁷ In other words, in following Lodensteyn's approach, the Holy Spirit's appeal moves one to see her lost estate in light of God's holiness. As Lampe writes:

With astonishment, we must be led toward the recognition of our own sin.... The knowledge of our sin must produce in us holy sorrow. The sorrow must make us eager for the acceptance of the Covenant of Grace.⁸⁸

Furthermore, Lampe states that confession, which is an individual's actual conformity to the covenant of grace,⁸⁹ must take place rationally and with mature reflection.⁹⁰ Hence, in light of these statements, one can easily see the parallels with Lodensteyn's view that inspired contemplation initiates salvation, or conversion.

The second shared Lodensteynian theme was the emphasis on the highest Christian duty as being the continual striving for perfection.⁹¹ Lodensteyn understood that at conversion a person was not made perfect, and that one's imperfection was not to be an excuse to keep her from striving for a perfect character. Lodensteyn also understood that the duty of striving was the will of God, and that God's will should be followed as far as human limitations allowed.

⁸⁶ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 144-145.

⁸⁷ O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 294. The definition of this step and its relationship to the rest of Lampe's order of salvation will be discussed in chapter VII.

⁸⁸ Geheimnis, I, 111, 113, 114.

⁸⁹ Ibid., I, 727-728.

⁹⁰ Ibid., I, 732.

⁹¹ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 145.

As established earlier in this paper, Lampe understood the concept of process, and/or continual striving, both in history and salvation. In fact, one could say that he understood the concept of process on both a macro and micro level. The Cocceian concept of covenant process in history represents Lampe's macro level, and an individual moving through a seven-fold order of salvation, while striving for perfection, represents his micro level. The Lodensteynian idea of continual striving rests in the latter perspective. Particularly, a Lodensteynian influence is evident in the meaning and position given to the fifth step in Lampe's *ordo solutis* ("Evangelical Perfection"). The fifth stage represents the highest experiential aspect within Lampe's understanding of salvation and regards a condition in which a person's "whole existence is completely conformed to God's will."⁹² The last two stages in Lampe's order of salvation, "sealing" and "glorification", are primarily eternal rewards to be fully experienced and realized in the life to come. But "evangelical perfection" is the highest stage to produce visible and practical effects in this life. However, Lampe had difficulty in describing this level of perfection. In fact, at the time of writing his *Geheimnis*, he claimed that he himself had not reached it, and he did not know many people who did.⁹³ Even so, this stage posits an ideal for which all Christians must strive.⁹⁴ Furthermore, since salvation is, of course, the epitome of God's will for humanity, and since "evangelical perfection" is a step within salvation, and lies at the high end of the process, then the striving for perfection is obviously a part of God's will as well. Thus in light of all this, one can easily see that Lampe was certainly in line with Lodensteyn's concept of the nature and purpose of striving for perfection.

The third and fourth major themes found in Lodensteyn, and shared by Lampe, were that self-denial and the total consecration of one's being for God were the essentials in Christian living, and were for the glory of God. Lodensteyn understood these principles as being rooted in

⁹² Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 231.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

humanity's absolute worthlessness. In other words, his conviction was that a person should deny one's self on the bases that "God is all and the creature is nothing."⁹⁵ Accordingly, for Lodensteyn, self-denial had one primary purpose: praise and glory for God. The converted Christian was to totally consecrate her life to this purpose alone. Furthermore, if one sought God merely for the benefits derived from such seeking (i.e., eternal life and earthly happiness), then one was not truly converted.⁹⁶

Similarly, Lampe understood that an individual's response to, and within, grace required a willingness to let go of everything; a placing of all one's desires upon Christ; self-denial; and earnest prayer.⁹⁷ Moreover, Lampe saw that diligence in personal discipline was essential to making the marks and awareness of election steadfast.⁹⁸ He also understood the purpose of all this as being for the glory of God. In fact, he succinctly states concerning true obedience, that "the purpose must be the glory of God and His blessedness...."⁹⁹

In light of the preceding discussion, one might have noticed that the themes in Lodensteyn represent some of the basic tenets of Reformed orthodoxy.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, how can the sharing of these themes between Lodensteyn and Lampe really show a connection between them? In response to this question, one must first recall that Lodensteyn did not become known as one of the "Illustrious Trio" on the basis of the preceding themes alone. But rather his fame was based on the energetic way in which he fused these themes within his preaching together with pietistic practices. These practices involved the utilization of conventicles for pastoral care and

⁹⁵ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 146.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 230.

⁹⁸ Geheimnis, I, 153 ff.

⁹⁹ O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 315.

¹⁰⁰ For the concept of the illumination of the Spirit, see Calvin's Institutes, book 1, chap. 7. For Calvin's understanding on self-denial see book 3, chap. 7. See: John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed., John T. McNeill, trans., F.L. Battles, Library of Christian Classics, vol. 20 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 69-74, 689-702.

catechizing for church discipline.¹⁰¹ Similarly, as established earlier, Lampe also used such methods. Hence, if one holds to the facts that: (1) an early, if not the earliest, Reformed pietistic influence in Lampe's life was that of Lodensteyn; (2) that Lampe, like Lodensteyn, became known as a great combiner of energetic preaching and practical piety;¹⁰² and (3) that Lampe utilized the same tools as Lodensteyn (i.e., conventicles etc.); then the argument that the aforementioned Reformed themes came to Lampe on the wings of Lodensteyn is strong. Thus, it has been on the basis of parallels in method and message that this writer has described the sharing of some basic Reformed themes as the sharing of Lodensteynian ones. With this said, and Lodensteyn's influence on Lampe established, we now proceed to investigate the other influential Reformed Pietist behind Lampe's thinking and activity -- Theodor Untereyck.

Theodor Untereyck

Theodor Untereyck was born in Duisburg on June 18, 1635. When he was two years old his parents died of the plague and he was sent to live with an uncle. At the age of eighteen he went to the University of Utrecht and studied under Voetius. However, while attending the University he heard Lodensteyn preach, and consequently, became especially influenced by him.¹⁰³ After attending Utrecht, Untereyck, in 1657, went back to Duisburg in order to further his study and took work under two followers of Cocceius.¹⁰⁴ The Cocceian approach to Reformed theology appealed to him so much that the next year he decided to go the Leiden and study directly under Cocceius himself.¹⁰⁵ Soon he determined to bring together what he thought was the best influences in theology, primarily Voetianism and Cocceianism. Even though these were

¹⁰¹ Brown, Problem of Subjectivism, 65-66.

¹⁰² Good gives evidence to the fact that Lampe combined such things when he states: "His sermons were plain, practical, pungent, yet full of suggestive thought and spiritual unction." Good, 386.

¹⁰³ Good, 323.

¹⁰⁴ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 170.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

competing camps, he thought that the best of both could be fused into a profound and accurate theological conglomeration.¹⁰⁶ In short, Untereyck sought to converge the practical streams of Voetius with the theological methodology of Cocceius. Untereyck latter influenced his friend Cornelius DeHase (1653-1719),¹⁰⁷ who would introduce this line of thinking to the Reformed academy at Bremen.¹⁰⁸ There Lampe would adopt the "Untereyckian fusion," and would become its most prominent spokesman.¹⁰⁹

After working as the court-preacher for the Countess of Hesse-Cassel and minister of the Reformed congregation at Muhlheim, Untereyck accepted a ministerial call from St. Martin's church at Bremen in 1670.¹¹⁰ While in Bremen, he and his wife began the weekly catechization of children and held additional weekly prayer meetings for the adults of his congregation. This, however, was not taken well by the city council and local ministerium. There were two reasons for this, and they both involved Jean de Labadie. First, the arrival of Labadie in Germany made many people wary of anything that looked like his "house-meetings."¹¹¹ For, even though such meetings were begun to emphasize practical piety within Labadie's Reformed congregation, they had ended up as a part of his separatist movement. Therefore, anything of similar appearance was looked down upon.

The second reason for Bremen's negative reaction to Untereyck's home meetings was due to the fact that some followers of Labadie had once come to the Reformed church at Muhlheim, while Untereyck was the pastor there, and convinced some members to leave. Thus, some

¹⁰⁶ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 170.

¹⁰⁷ A pastor and professor at Bremen from 1677 to 1710. See: Gerrit Snijders, "*Friedrich Adolph Lampe, ein deutscher reformierter Theologe in Holland*," 86.

¹⁰⁸ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 227.

¹⁰⁹ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 170.

¹¹⁰ Lampe would later minister at this church as well.

¹¹¹ Good, 326.

suspected Untereyck of being a Labadist. Subsequently, many in the ministerium of Bremen saw Untereyck's actions as having a clear separatist intent.

During the phases of dispute over Untereyck's actions, Untereyck claimed, as stated earlier in this paper, that the Synod of Dort had demanded Reformed ministers to carry out such practices. But this claim was not enough, and soon Untereyck agreed not to carry out the home catechetical meetings any longer (however, his wife continued). Even though Untereyck was "defeated," his work paved the way for Lampe, who, by the time of his pastorate in Bremen, would be able to carry out home meetings without opposition from the local ministerium. But Untereyck's work did more than just pave the way for Lampe. As Good states, it "secured for Pietism a hold in one of the large cities, whereas before it had been rural. Untereyck's work in Bremen now brought it [Pietism] into prominence."¹¹² Yet even more important than this is the fact that it was Untereyck who first brought the institution of conventicles (house-meetings for the practice of piety) into Germany.¹¹³ Thus, it is of no surprise that the following was said of Untereyck at his funeral: "what Spener is in the Lutheran church, Untereyck is in the Reformed."¹¹⁴

In light of Untereyck's history, it is obvious that he is important to our study for two primary reasons. First, he connects the aspects of our historical survey together. He moved from the Netherlands to Germany, via the educational link; took points from the Cocceian-Voetian controversy and tried to bring them together; he was the first to bring the Dutch pietistic practice of holding conventicles to Germany; and claimed the pietistic "mechanisms" of Dort. Second, Untereyck played a direct role in the formation of Lampe's thinking and activity in that he produced a Voetian-Cocceian balance in theology, that Lampe acquired through DeHase; and he prepared the way for Lampe to practice Pietism in Bremen. Of course, for our purposes, the most

¹¹² Good, 327. Brackets mine.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ward, 227.

important of these two primary factors is the latter. In fact, the first point (i.e., how Untereyck fits into the historical survey) simply supports the second factor, and Untereyck's preparation of Bremen is secondary as well. Thus, in short, the most important contribution to examine here is Untereyck's Voetian-Cocceian "balance," or "fusion." More specifically, there are some byproducts of the Voetian-Cocceian balance within Untereyck's ministry that are directly paralleled in Lampe's ministry. Therefore, by examining these similar themes, or parallel byproducts, the extent of Untereyck's influence and Lampe's theological and ministerial nuances will be made more evident.

There are three pastoral themes in Untereyck,¹¹⁵ that we also find in Lampe's ministry; they are: (1) felicity or happiness, (2) pastoral concern over negative emotions, and (3) good works and self-denial. As mentioned earlier, under the discussion concerning Lodensteyn, these traits are basic to the Reformed tradition. However, due to direct similarities in content, shared practical methods for communication, and a close biographical connection between the communicators of the shared themes, it is safe to say that the themes above came inspired to Lampe through Untereyck.

The first theme found in Untereyck's preaching is that of felicity. This concept first began with the ancient mystics, and found its way into the realm of historic Pietism through the work of Jean de Taffin (1529?-1602). Taffin is considered by some as being the first Reformed Pietist.¹¹⁶ This is due to the fact that he was "the first to advocate the practice of piety with an earnestness which distinguished him from other Reformed preachers of his day."¹¹⁷ And in his earnest advocating for the practice of piety, he placed an emphasis on "inwardness, prayer, and feelings of spiritual elation."¹¹⁸ Taffin understood such feelings of spiritual elation, or felicity,¹¹⁹ as involving

¹¹⁵ These themes are found in Untereyck's practical treatise, Bride of Christ. This work was intended to be a devotional guide, thus it is safe to say that these themes were expressed in Untereyck's preaching and teaching as well. See: Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 171.

¹¹⁶ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 117.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 121-122.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 124.

the will, intellect and emotions; or, in short, the entire person.¹²⁰ In addition, Taffin understood felicity as being the primary benefit given by the Holy Spirit in conversion, and that this benefit came in three stages: peace, joy and ultimate bliss. The first two are attainable in this life, and the third upon the resurrection into heaven.¹²¹

Untereyck stressed the concept of felicity as being a gift of divine grace and as a condition that a believer reaches if God is sought and loved above all other goods.¹²² He believed that this separated the true believers from those "going through the motions." If one truly believes then they will seek God alone, and such dedicated believers will have visible traits of the felicity that accompanies such a lifestyle. Furthermore, like Taffin, Untereyck understood felicity as progressing in terms of joy and peace until it becomes ultimate bliss in the rapture.¹²³

This concept of felicity is evident in Lampe as well. In chapter four of book one of his *Geheimnis*, Lampe speaks of the design of the covenant of grace. In doing so, he uses synonymous phrases like "the design of grace" and "the design of the decision for election."¹²⁴ He then describes this design as having four parts, the triune God, the elect, the choice of God, and the objective for election.¹²⁵ Under the discussion of the third point (i.e., the choice of God) Lampe speaks of the blessings of God's action as "happiness itself, and...every resource that leads to it."¹²⁶ Furthermore, in chapter thirteen of book one, he describes, as best he can, the state of

¹¹⁹ Stoeffler calls Taffin's concept "felicity," and we will do the same in the remainder of this study. See: Stoeffler, *Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, 125. footnote #1.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 122-123.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 171.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Geheimnis*, I, 123.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 123-149. These points will be discussed at length in chapter VIII.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 143-144.

ultimate bliss as being the highest gift given to the elect.¹²⁷ And like Taffin and Untereyck before him, Lampe sees this state of ultimate bliss as given in stages. First there is the foretaste in life on earth, then there are the beginnings of its fullness in death, and finally its absolute completion in the resurrection.¹²⁸ Lampe also understood this concept of felicity as being involved in the character of Christian living. For in light of the consequent felicity of grace and election, Lampe stressed that one must meditate on the "duties of true gratitude with earnestness," and perform such duties to the best of one's ability.¹²⁹ Hence, from all of this, there is no doubt that Lampe and Untereyck understood felicity in a similar fashion. They both comprehended it as: (1) a gift of grace, or a blessing of God's action; (2) producing a visible effect in one's life; (3) progressive in this life; and (4) completed in the life to come.

The next theme found in Untereyck is that of a pastoral concern over negative emotions. This concern was first brought forth by William A. Saldenus (1627-1694), who studied under Voetius and served as a pastor at Renswoude, Kockengen, Enchuysen, Delft, and at the Hague.¹³⁰ In his work, The Very Sad State of A Christian, Consisting in the Deadness and Insensibility of His Heart Concerning Spiritual Things, Saldenus described negative emotions, or a dryness of faith, or spiritual depression, as spiritual deadness and the deadness of the heart. He expressed this deadness as being a lack of joy or felicity, and expressed that such a lack of feeling is not due to sin, or the hardening of one's heart toward the will of God, but is simply a spiritual weakness prone to all Christians. He adds that this weakness is not created or caused by God, but rather when fallen humanity engages the divine, deadness naturally arises at times because human hearts are never as fully moved by spiritual things as they can be.¹³¹ Saldenus goes on to express in his

¹²⁷ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 231.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Geheimnis, I, 198-201.

¹³⁰ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 157.

¹³¹ Ibid.

work that though God can, and does, awaken such deadness; he first allows it in order to "turn the attention of his people toward himself."¹³² Finally, Saldenus suggest that laziness in spiritual disciplines contributes to spiritual deadness, and that actively involving one's self in daily devotion, times of worship, and Christian fellowship can aid in bringing one out of "dead" times.

The evidence that suggests Untereyck employed Saldenus' concept within his ministry, primarily comes from his work Bride of Christ, which was written as a practical devotional guide.¹³³ Untereyck devotes a portion of this work to the comforting of Christians who feel dead in their spirits and "are not aware of exalted feeling states."¹³⁴ He tells his readers that feelings of felicity, or any other emotion, is not the basis for knowing one's acceptance by God, but rather the final criterion is love for God and the denial of all worldly things.¹³⁵

Currently, this writer has not been able to find any direct statements by Lampe that would "officially" link him, via Untereyck, to Saldenus' concept. However, there are many "unofficial" examples, in both his writings and actions, that make this link visible. First, for example, in his conversion hymn, "Praise of the Lord Jesus," Lampe writes:

Even though I am often fogged in
By a thick darkness of temptation,
Your covenant remains
[Oh so] sure to me.
When I am afraid,
From within and without,
[And] faith and hope begin to shake [about],
Then my dry spirit is moistened
By your comforting,
As often as your clear light shines
Through [the] dark clouds [to me].¹³⁶

¹³² Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 157.

¹³³ See footnote #115 above.

¹³⁴ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 171.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ I have included the brackets here in order to make the translation more poetic in English. A more strict translation of this stanza can be seen in Appendix I, where the 19 stanzas provided by Thelemann are translated.

From the emphasis and location of this stanza,¹³⁷ it is quite evident that Lampe understood that there were times when a "dry spirit" could overtake the emotions of a Christian. He also supports this theme in his poem, "My Life is a Pilgrim's Stand," which, according to Good, is considered one of his most famous.¹³⁸ Lampe writes:

At times to me the sun is bright,
That sun outshines its glorious light
Alone to bless the pure in spirit;
Then comes the raging, roaring storm,
So loud, terrific its alarm,
So dark, I cannot help but fear.
But when I think of joys above,
My terror yields its place to love.¹³⁹

At another point in the same poem, Lampe adds:

And while my heart, O God of Grace,
Shall faint with longing for thy face;
Prepare my will for thy fruition,
Whene'er to earth my eyelids close.
May I with thee enjoy repose,
Where sin and grief find no admission;
Thy weary child bid thither come,
To live with thee, a blissful home.¹⁴⁰

In both these stanzas there is an obvious awareness of times of spiritual depression. Furthermore, from these stanzas, and the one from "Praise of the Lord Jesus," one discovers that Lampe is aware of two "natural" and common weaknesses that produce spiritual depression or deadness. First, there are those times when outward storms rage about. Such storms represent times of

For the original see: Otto Thelemann, *Friedrich Adolph Lampe. Sein Leben und seine Theologie*, 10-13. At this author's present stage of research, it appears that Thelemann provides all the extant portions of Lampe's "Praise of the Lord Jesus".

¹³⁷ This stanza is #32 and it comes four stanzas after the one describing Lampe's actual moment of conversion.

¹³⁸ Good, 392. This poem can be seen in full in Appendix II.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 626.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 627.

spiritual deadness that are inspired from the daily life battles surrounding an individual. Second, there are those times when spiritual doubt and depression arises from within, either from temptation producing doubt, or from one growing faint in daily expectation for the future hope of Christ.

However, Lampe's poems are not the only things that suggest his practical awareness of negative emotions and spiritual depression within Christians. His actions show it as well. For example, Good relates a story of a fisherman who was dying and called for Lampe to come to him. As the fisherman laid dying in his bed, Lampe, with tears in his eyes, asked the man about his condition with Christ. The man confessed that he was lost and repented. Yet, as Lampe ministered to him, the man continued to feel the burden of his guilt and shame. He expressed to Lampe that he felt as if there was no hope for him. Lampe told him a story that an old sailor could easily understand. He said that during a storm, one must anchor fast in the Lord, despite what goes on around them. Just like in the ocean, the storm may rage, but the anchor will hold. As Lampe left, the man was still unsure of his salvation, but he exclaimed to Lampe that he would hold to the "anchor" just the same. For a few days, the man struggled with such feelings, but Lampe, who visited the man daily during this time, kept reminding him of the effectiveness of the merits of Christ. In the end, the old fisherman died "rejoicing in hope."¹⁴¹

From the evidence given, one can easily see that Lampe shared Untereyck's practical emphasis -- that one's salvation is not dependent on one's feelings concerning it. Furthermore, according to Lampe, emotions of felicity and/or depression were to be understood in light of the divine-human equation, and this equation was only understood within the design of the covenant of grace as expressed in scripture.¹⁴² Hence, here we clearly see the logic behind defining the themes of felicity and spiritual deadness as byproducts of the "Untereyckian fusion."

¹⁴¹ Good, 387-388.

¹⁴² This point is discussed in more detail under the "Universal Effects of the Fall" section in chapter VII.

The third Untereyckian theme shared by Lampe, is that of practicing good works and self denial. This theme, as stated earlier, is obviously a fundamental theme in Christian orthodoxy. But for the sake of organizing and introducing Lampe's conglomeration of thought, it is being mentioned here within the pietistic influence of Untereyck. However, not much needs to be said here, for we have already discussed most of Lampe's understanding on self-denial and good works. For example, from earlier discussions it was shown that Lampe, like Lodensteyn, understood that self-denial and good works should be done for the glory of God. It was also shown that Lampe understood self-denial and good works, or "the duties of true gratitude" as a response to the blessing of felicity. Furthermore, it can be deduced from the observed nature and character of Lampe's writings and ministry, that he, like Untereyck, understood daily discipline and good works as assisting in overcoming spiritual depression. Therefore, the only thing left to point out here is the emphasis of love within self-denial and good works.

Untereyck believed that all duties, from worldly jobs to Christian self-discipline should be done out of a love for God, and should be done for his glory as well.¹⁴³ In expressing this, Untereyck did not enforce a strict self-denial doctrine; rather he believed that the end should justify the means. If one loves God, he will do some things and not do others. For this reason he informed his parishioners to be as "wise as a serpent in knowing what God requires."¹⁴⁴

In line with Untereyck, Lampe understood that the underlying current to all Christian duty and self-denial must be love. In fact, he bluntly writes that the "root of all duty is love."¹⁴⁵ However, Lampe was more strict than Untereyck in directing his people to practice self-denial and good works. The most plausible reason for this was that Lampe, though understanding self-denial and good works as being rooted in love and for the glory of God, also understood them as being involved in how one progresses through the stages of salvation. Now, since the whole

¹⁴³ Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 172.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Cited in: O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 314-315.

salvation process was understood as a complete conversion for Lampe,¹⁴⁶ then if one did not progress, then, in a sense, one's salvation was in jeopardy.¹⁴⁷ Hence, Lampe strongly stressed self-denial and good works, or legal obedience.¹⁴⁸

In summary, it can be said that Lampe and Untereyck shared in understanding that: (1) felicity is a gift from God and a blessing of grace; (2) negative emotions, or spiritual dryness is a natural byproduct of fallen humanity engaged with the divine; and, (3) that self-denial should be rooted in love. However, in connection with the third point, it appears that Lampe placed more emphasis on self-denial and good works as an expression of covenant progression, and Untereyck saw it more as a simple response to love.

This completes the review of the "schools of influence," and of the broader historical setting for Lampe. But before moving into his biographical data, which will draw together all of what has been said thus far, it would be beneficial to make a quick sweep of the aforementioned details. Hence, so far in this paper, we have: (1) identified key reasons for the obscurity of "true" Pietism within history, and have suggested that these reasons obviously contribute to Lampe's own obscurity. (2) We have recognized the true traits of historic Pietism as involving experiential reality, practical living, a biblical emphasis, religious idealism, and an opposite element; and have identified these traits as the fundamental tenets of Lampe's pietistic concerns. (3) We have specified historic Pietism as having its roots in the Reformed tradition; and therefore, suggested that Lampe, in being a key exponent of Reformed Pietism, could be looked at as a key exponent of the entire Pietistic tradition as well. (4) We have pointed out key historical events and controversies that pertain to the development of Reformed Pietism; and therefore, in light of point #3 above, we have also pointed out events that pertain to the entire movement of Pietism and Lampe's own history. (5) We have identified a common bond between Germany and the

¹⁴⁶ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 230.

¹⁴⁷ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 229.

¹⁴⁸ All of this is discussed in Part III of this paper. The discussion on "legal obedience" is under the "Federal Principle" section in chapter VII.

Netherlands, that primarily expressed itself as an educational link. (6) We have identified the primary symbols of the Reformed tradition that impacted Lampe as being the pietistic "mechanisms" of the Synod of Dort, the controversies and details involved in the doctrine of predestination, and the Heidelberg Catechism. (7) We have specified the key elements within Cocceianism, which was the school of thought that Lampe centered his theological methodology upon, as being a central biblicism; a liberation from philosophy; an emphasis on proper hermeneutics; a progressive understanding within history; and an emphasis upon human responsibility within covenant relations with God and others. (8) We have described how Lampe adopted Lodensteyn's emphases of illumination by the Spirit; progression toward perfection within the Christian life; and how one's goal in life should be for the glory of God. Finally, (9) we have seen how Lampe shared in Untereyck's emphases on felicity; pastoral care for spiritual deadness; and self-denial and good works as being rooted in love.

CHAPTER V

LAMPE'S BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Lampe's Early Life and Education

Lampe was born on February 18, 1683, in the city of Detmold in Lippe.¹ His father, Heinrich Lampe, was the second pastor of the Reformed church there, and afterwards, pastor at Frankfurt on the Main and was court preacher for the elector of Brandenburg at Königsburg.² His mother, Elizabeth Christina, descended from a noble Swiss family.³ She was the daughter of Jacob Zeller, the general superintendent of Lippe.⁴ "His maternal grandmother was descended from the Dutch refugees, who had fled from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva and settled at Cleve."⁵ His paternal grandmother was related to the House of Bourbon, and was a descendent of the Huguenots.⁶ Hence, there was mingled in his blood the best of four nations, German, Swiss, Dutch and French, and all "consecrated by piety."⁷ In light of such a pious heritage, one can easily see that Friedrich Lampe had a head start in the preparation for his life's work.

He spent most of his childhood in the home of his maternal grandfather, Jacob Zeller.⁸ The reasons for this are not recorded. Even so, one can be sure that his time with "grandpa"

¹ Good, 375; Stoeffler, German Pietism, 224-225.

² Good, 375. A.J. van der Aa, in his *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, states that Hendrik Lampe (the Dutch spelling) was the court preacher of the King of Prussia at Königsburg (*hofprediker van den konig van Pruisen te Koningsbergen*). See: A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, (Harlem, n.p., 1852), 83. This statement is made in light of the fact that in 1701 the Elector of Brandenburg obtained the consent of the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire to style himself the King of Prussia. See: Strayer and Gatzke, Mainstream of Western Civilization, 463.

³ Van der Aa, 83.

⁴ Ibid.; Good, 375-376.

⁵ Good, 376.

⁶ Ibid., 375. Currently, this author has not found any information concerning his paternal grandfather.

⁷ Ibid., 376.

⁸ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 225.

Zeller had a great influence upon his life; for Zeller had a great charisma and a deep spirituality that easily impressed those around him. For example, his personality and preaching was of such a nature that when he had gout and could not walk, the Count of Lippe ordered his troops to carry Zeller to the church in a chair, so that the town of Detmold would not miss hearing the Word of God from their devout minister.⁹

Zeller had become "consciously" converted eleven years before the birth of Lampe, under the ministry of the great Reformed Pietist Jadocus van Lodensteyn.¹⁰ Since Zeller was ministering at Rees during the time of his conversion,¹¹ perhaps Lodensteyn's message convicted Zeller of the reality that he was trying to be a minister and pastor while not being truly converted. Whatever the case might be, Lodensteyn's message led to Zeller's conversion, and from that day on, Lodensteyn's principles would be a part of Zeller's life and ministry. Accordingly, those principles, via Zeller, would become a part of young Lampe's life as well.

Zeller and Heinrich Lampe both died before Friedrich's tenth birthday. "Lampe was then taken to Bremen by his mother, where his uncle, the pious Judge Wichelhausen, allowed himself to be especially involved in his upbringing."¹² In Bremen, Lampe first attended a Latin school. Then at the age of fifteen, and by his own initiative, he decided to attend the Reformed academy there in order to study theology. Just two years later Lampe "won the hearts and recognition of his teachers" with his Latin dissertation, The Cymbals of the Ancients.¹³ This work was accepted by the scholars of the day with great acclamation, and was later published at the University of Utrecht.¹⁴ Lampe's dissertation and the several articles, particularly the one on Ephesians 4:9,

⁹ Good, 376.

¹⁰ Good; 376; Stoeffler, 225.

¹¹ Good, 376.

¹² Thelemann, 8.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

which he wrote while at the Bremen academy, portray an uncommon clarity, thoroughness, and maturity.¹⁵ Through such works, it became obvious to many that Lampe would become a man of great standing within the ministry of God.

Lampe's early achievements at Bremen provide valuable insights to the character of the man; but knowing Bremen's theological atmosphere, which Lampe bought into, and under which his accomplishments took place, is of much more value in discovering who Lampe was and what he represented. Hence, it must be pointed out that at the time Lampe was attending the Reformed academy in Bremen, "the long and difficult controversy between the federal theology of Cocceius and the rejuvenated orthodoxy of Voetius began to subside. The issues were being resolved in favor of the Cocceian approach."¹⁶ However, two separate parties had formed within Cocceianism. One party spent its time in theological tautologies and formal academic discussions on biblical and theological themes;¹⁷ while the other party, which was represented in Bremen, "attempted to keep Coccejan theology oriented toward the vital concerns of the church by fusing it with Pietism."¹⁸ In other words, the latter branch of Cocceianism sought to find the middle ground between the practicality of Voetius, and the scriptural methodology of Cocceius. In short, it sought the implementation of the "Untereyckian fusion."

It was this approach to theology that was taught to Lampe by his professors, Nicholas Gürtler (1654-1711),¹⁹ Wilhelm Snabelius, or Schnabel (1656-1710),²⁰ and Cornelius DeHase.²¹

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 226.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 227.

¹⁹ Gürtler was born in Basel, professor in Herborn and Hanau, and was rector of the academic high school in Bremen from 1696-1699. See: Snijders, 86.

²⁰ Snabelius was the pastor at Ansgari and then, beginning in 1688, was the "alternating rector" of the academic high school in Bremen with Cornelius DeHase. Ibid.

²¹ See chapter IV, footnote #107.

Gürtler strongly identified with basic Cocceianism,²² and Snabelius and DeHase shared in Untereyck's approach. However, it was primarily under the influence of DeHase that Lampe would learn of the Untereyckian fusion between Voetianism and Cocceianism.

Lampe, who was already primed with the practical Lodensteynian pietism of his grandfather, immediately saw this Untereyckian combination between practical piety and the biblical/historical methodology of Cocceius as attractive. However, his theological "building blocks" were still not entirely in place. For even though Lampe excelled in theology; saw the implications of the pietistic themes he had grown up with; and accepted the biblical centrality and covenant concept of Cocceianism; he still remained "full of spiritual darkness."²³ Perhaps out of either a quest to rid himself of this "darkness," or from a desire to take advantage of the educational link between Germany and the Netherlands, Lampe, at nineteen, traveled to Holland to complete his education at the University of Franeker.²⁴ Here, like Bremen, the school was divided into the two wings of Cocceianism. On the one hand, there were the "green" Cocceians, who represented the "hair-splitting critics of the bible," or those who played theological word games.²⁵ On the other hand, there were the "earnest" or "serious" Cocceians, "who sought to interpret Scripture in a simpler more edifying fashion...,"²⁶ and who "never allowed criticism to make them forget the practical side of Christianity."²⁷ This similar atmosphere, aided by Lampe's more mature character, began to help him solidify his own theological understanding. But his "spiritual darkness" remained with him. Finally, when Lampe's developing theological thinking

²² Snijders, 86.

²³ Good, 377,

²⁴ Max Goebel states that Lampe completed his education by also attending Utrecht. But Snijders says that this is wrong. See: Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westfälischen evangelischen Kirche*, vol. 2, 404-405. Also see: Snijders, 86.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 378.

²⁶ McCoy, 38.

²⁷ Good, 378.

came into close contact with the personalities and biblical teaching of the Pietist professors of Franeker,²⁸ such as Campegius Vitringa, Johanne von der Waeyen (1676-1719), and Herman Alexander Roëll (1653-1718),²⁹ Lampe found himself at the end of his *Busskampf*, or penitential struggle. Lampe then repented and experienced the new birth. In response to this experience, he wrote a 36-stanza poem, "Praise of the Lord Jesus" (which has been mentioned earlier and whose last fifteen verses can be seen in Appendix I). In stanza #28, Lampe, describes the moment of his salvation when he writes:

A joyful yes
Entrusted me to you
You called me bride
[And] you became my groom.
Unequal marriage!
The King of Heaven loved
[One] who gives him nothing,
A little mote of dust.
[Oh to that little one]
You give everything,
[Yes] you gave me crowns of honor
and took away the chains...³⁰

In addition to writing his conversion poem, Lampe also formulated a personal slogan to remind him daily of the price paid for his salvation. This aphorism was simply, "my love is crucified."³¹

²⁸ Good points out that Franeker used the Socratic method of teaching and that students and professors came into close contact with each other. See: Good, 377.

²⁹ Vitringa was introduced earlier in this paper, see p. 52 ff. Roëll will be mentioned in more detail later in this chapter and in chapter VI. However, to keep from the possibility of error, a note of controversy concerning von der Waeyen must be made at this time. Stoeffler, Good and Thelemann claim that Lampe studied under Johanne von der Waeyen, however, Snijders claims that this was not the case. Snijders writes: "[Lampe] did not study in Franeker at the time of the well known professor John van der Waeyan, as is said by Thelemann and others, since Waeyan died in November of 1701 and Lampe first came there towards the end of 1702. However, he probably knew the less well-known son of the great John van der Waeyan." (See: Snijders, 86. Brackets mine.) This fact does not effect our study in any way, since Vitringa was the most prominent "Franekerian" influence on Lampe.

³⁰ Brackets mine. The writer has altered the format of the original in order to enhance poetic rhythm. For a strict translation, see Appendix I. Also see chapter IV, footnote # 136.

³¹ Good, 377.

After his conversion, Lampe continued to develop his poetry and song-writing abilities. However, his progression into becoming one of the three greatest poets within the German Reformed Church³² did not take place without a few bad reviews. Of course, such has happened to the best in any field. Yet, Lampe did not let bad reviews keep him from expressing what God had placed on his heart. This is evident in his response to a severe critique by professor Peter Burmen at the University of Utrecht, to whom Lampe had sent a poem to be evaluated. Lampe writes:

I am no poet. Why should I deny it? I have, however, attempted to be a poet, and that is enough. Many attempt it and are lacking. The same appears to happen to me, when I aim at poetry. However, I will not allow myself to be intimidated through the awareness of my low talent. Occasionally, diligence leads to triumphs, where natural capability fails.³³

In addition to being a student and developing his poetry at Franeker, Lampe also tutored the son of the local Mayor, Joachimus von Berchem.³⁴ Hence, though Lampe only spent a year at Franeker (1702-1703), it was a momentous one. For it was there that he experienced the crisis of salvation; firmly established his own thinking upon the "Untereyckian fusion" of the "earnest" Cocceians; developed his poetry, which would later become central to German Reformed hymnody; and had his first opportunity to teach, which would later be his full time call in life.

Lampe's Early Ministry

In 1703, Lampe returned to Germany to pastor a small church at Weeze, near Cleve. Three years later the large Reformed congregation at Duisburg called him. Here Lampe found quite a different atmosphere than that in his previous church. The peaceful setting at Weeze had

³² Good states that Lampe, Neander and Terrtsteegen represent the three greatest poets of the German Reformed Church. See: Good, 392. Also see chapter II, footnote #24.

³³ Snijders, 87.

³⁴ Ibid.

been replaced by a turbulent air at Duisburg. This was primarily due to the fact that there had been earlier conflict and separations due to Reiner Copper's indiscretions.³⁵

Reiner Copper (1645-1693) had accepted a call to pastor Duisburg in 1678. While there he began to address the moral laxity of the congregation by exercising private catechization and home prayer meetings. In fear of separatism, the local ministerium ordered that these practices be stopped. In response to this, Copper left Duisburg and accepted a small Reformed congregation in Jülich at Kirchherten.³⁶ Soon, due to his experiences at Duisburg and Jülich, Copper became convicted that there were many unworthy members in the Reformed Church, and therefore, he refused to administer the sacraments. Because of this, the local ministerium had no choice but to dismiss him. Copper then separated entirely from the Reformed Church.

Though Copper's disagreement with the ministerium at Duisburg took place approximately twenty-five years prior to Lampe's arrival, the dispute caused a long-lasting suspicion against Pietism. If Copper truly did not intend to separate, then why did he spurn the ministerium's order and leave? Could not public prayer meetings emphasize pietistic themes as well as private ones? Such questions as these left the people of Duisburg feeling that Pietism was nothing more than a disguised expression of separatism. Others felt that Copper was right in his pietistic methodology, and thus, left the church when Copper did. It was the memory of all of this that formed the new atmosphere that Lampe stepped into upon arriving at Duisburg.

Lampe desired to awaken the congregation to a greater spirituality, and wanted to bring those who separated back into the fold. To achieve these objectives, and to remain within the directives of the local ministerium, Lampe implemented a practice of home visitation. By short visitations, he was able to privately meet and counsel individuals, without being accused of holding private meetings. Yet, some saw no difference between this and Copper's tactics. Hence, many "worldly-minded" people in the congregation complained. However, in actuality, such

³⁵ Good, 378-379.

³⁶ Ibid., 338-339.

complaints were probably based more on feelings against the discipline communicated in such visitations, then on a fear of separatism.³⁷

After spending three years in Duisburg, Lampe accepted a call from St. Stephen's church in Bremen.³⁸ Though there were some problems in Duisburg, Lampe regretfully saw that the spirituality of his new congregation was worse than the one before. To combat this, he began to hold private and public prayer meetings for the promotion of pious spirituality and instruction in the Word through catechization.³⁹ Lampe also continued the practice, which he began in Duisburg, of asking the converted to rise after each sermon.⁴⁰ And he continued his emphases on church discipline and reform.

Unfortunately, while at Bremen, another bout with separatism arose. But this time Lampe was not cleaning up the mess of a previous conflict, for he was the center of the conflict itself. The controversy revolved around Lampe's book, The Great Privileges of the Unhappy Apostle, Judas Iscariot--A Warning to Unprofitable Teachers,⁴¹ which he wrote, while at Bremen, in order to further emphasize the need for church discipline. In this book, Lampe hits hard against unfaithful ministers, and presents a warning to those intending to separate from the Reformed church. Yet the latter point is dwarfed by the severe tone used to communicate the former, and Lampe comes across as "inclining toward the views of the Separatists."⁴² This alone was enough to cause some suspicion by the local ministerium, but what made matters worse was when Peter

³⁷ Ibid., 379; Thelemann, 17.

³⁸ Ten years later, in 1719, Lampe would become St. Stephen's senior pastor.

³⁹ One should recall that years earlier, as discussed previously in this paper, Untereyck had prepared the way for such pietistic practices in Bremen, and though he himself was not allowed to practice home catechization, his positive impact on the city of Bremen made such practices acceptable by Lampe's time. Hence, "Untereyck had sowed the seed and Lampe reaped the results." See: Good, 379.

⁴⁰ Good points out that this practice, initiated by Lampe, lasted well into the 19th century among German Reformed pastors. See: J.I. Good, The History of the Reformed Church of Germany, 379.

⁴¹ Good, 380.

⁴² Ibid., 381.

Friedrich Detry,⁴³ Lampe's friend and former parishioner, vehemently spoke out against the Reformed Church in a sermon on October 13, 1713. In preaching on Luke 19:45-46 (Christ driving the money changers out of the temple),⁴⁴ Detry claimed that carnal teachers had made the Reformed church a "brood of vipers" and a "den of thieves," and he used Lampe's book to back up his point.⁴⁵ Though Detry spoke for the cause of reform, his tone was very much like that of the radical separatists, and it led to Detry being asked to retract his statements. However, Detry refused, and the city council and ministerium of Bremen suspended him. Though Lampe had sided with the council's action against Detry, the fact that the latter had cited The Great Privileges of the Unhappy Apostle, brought some suspicions to Lampe himself.

Later Lampe was forced to make his position on separatism absolutely clear when, in 1714, Römeling, a Lutheran separatist, accused him of vacillating on the issue of separatism. Over the next three years, Lampe defended himself against this accusation. But his defense led Detry, who had always been highly influenced by Römeling,⁴⁶ to attack Lampe as well. Finally, Lampe "declared that he was as decidedly against Separatism as he was in favor of Pietism within the Church."⁴⁷

As the controversy with Detry and Römeling subsided, there came "a season of quiet,"⁴⁸ which Lampe used to study and write. In the three years between the Detry controversy and his call to teach at Utrecht in 1720, Lampe completed his massive four part work, the Geheimnis des Gnadenbundes (The Secret of the Covenant of Grace, in 6 vols.), which he began in 1712; wrote

⁴³ Detry was the pastor of St. Martin's church in Bremen from 1710-1717. For more details on the controversy between Lampe and Detry, see: Max Goebel, Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westfälischen evangelischen Kirche, vol. 2, 421-425.

⁴⁴ Good, 381.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 382.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

his famous exposition on the Heidelberg Catechism, the *Milch der Wahrheit* (Milk of Truth); and founded the first Reformed Church paper in 1718, the "*Bibliotheca-Historico-Philologico-Theologica*" (The Historical-Philological-Theological Library), which he published and edited for the whole time he remained in Bremen.⁴⁹

In addition to taking time to write during the "season of quiet," Lampe took time to marry. On January 17, 1717, Lampe married Maria Sofia Eleonora, the daughter of George Sebastian von Diemer;⁵⁰ and in their twelve years together, Lampe and Maria would be blessed with five children.⁵¹

Lampe's Career in Holland

In 1720, due to the death of professor Burmen, who critiqued Lampe's poetry many years before, a position for Professor of Theology became available at the University of Utrecht. Lampe, due to his "good studies and other excellent qualities,"⁵² was immediately considered for the job, and was given the first opportunity to respond. He accepted, and on June 22, 1720 Lampe was installed as a Professor of Theology at Utrecht. In his inaugural address, Lampe claimed that he felt like a "stammering child," but that he put "his entire trust in the wisdom of God."⁵³ Lampe signed the "confessional documents of the Dutch churches,"⁵⁴ and the

⁴⁹ This paper was: published in Latin; appeared in parts, which were dedicated to various well-known theologians; and was not intended for polemical discussions. For more information on this work by Lampe, see: Good, The History of the Reformed Church of Germany, 382; and O. Thelemann, *Friedrich Adolph Lampe, Seine Leben und seine Theologie*, 76-78.

⁵⁰ Van der Aa, 86.

⁵¹ O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 300, footnote #41. At the time of writing this paper, this author had no information concerning the sexes and histories of Lampe's children. However, concerning a great-grandson, Good writes: In 1703 [Lampe] took a small congregation at Weeze, near Cleve. In this region his grandfather, Zeller, had preached before him and his great-grandson, Menken, preached after him. Good, 378. Brackets mine.

⁵² Snijders, 87.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

inauguration concluded with the student body and faculty singing Latin, Dutch and Hebrew songs.⁵⁵

Lampe's appointment to the University of Utrecht, according to Good, marked an epoch event in the history of the Dutch Reformed Church. He states:

It marked the victory of the Cocceians over the Voetians, of Biblical theology over the scholasticism, of Christian life over Christian doctrine. It also marked...the victory of the earnest Cocceians over the green or scholastic Cocceians. For from that day it became customary in the Dutch universities to have three professors of theology: (1) A Voetian or scholastic; (2) a Cocceian or exegete; (3) a Lampean or practical theologian.⁵⁶

However, Good's statement is somewhat misleading, and, in order to properly understand the significance of Lampe's appointment, it should be qualified on two counts. First, the term "victory" is too intense. The fact that the schools in Holland began to use the triad form of instruction does imply that there was a willingness to view both the scholastic and practical, or the Cocceian and Voetian aspects of theology. And therefore, it does suggest a basic move toward the Untereyckian approach of the "earnest" Cocceians. If the term "victory" represents this basic move, then the term can stand. However, the term should not be taken to mean that "earnest" Cocceianism won out completely, and that the "green" side was no longer heard. In fact, the triad form of instruction was founded on the very tension between the "earnest" and "green" positions, with a Lampean scholar representing the synthesis of the two. Hence, the triad system of instruction needed the "green" party's input. Furthermore, there is evidence that "factions," which carried out the "hair-splitting" practices of the "green" party, existed long after Lampe's appointment. For example, in his farewell address to Utrecht, seven years after his appointment, Lampe mentions the "discord and division" that was brought about by persons involved in such practices. He states:

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Good, 383.

There is a latent and not yet sufficiently recognized tumor which depraves the Dutch congregations of their best 'life-juice'....I do not want to stop to give a detailed description of the discord and division which prevails in the rationally corrupt ecclesiastical system of this otherwise blessed land. [For] where would I finish, when I, after evaluation and with bitter songs of lament, would describe as appalling, those factions that stand for a cause of truth according to external confession, bother with all sorts of void pretenses, seek after word-contortions, present unfounded charges of heresy and...promote odious 'name-calling.'⁵⁷

In light of this statement and the fact that the triad system of instruction implemented the "green" party within itself, one should not understand Lampe's appointment as an "absolute" victory, but as representing a new willingness to operate on a principle of cooperation between the parties within Cocceianism. This may characterize what "earnest" Cocceianism was after, but, in light of the continual tension, it does not represent the conquering of one party by another.

The second way Good's statement should be qualified is by noticing that he puts too much emphasis on the appointment itself. Instead of describing Lampe's appointment to Utrecht as marking an epoch victory, it would be better to describe it as the beginning of an epoch change in the Dutch Reformed Church. There are two reasons to change the emphasis here. First, there is no evidence that Lampe's appointment immediately produced the triad system of instruction, as implied by Good's statement. But rather it is more logical to suggest that it came about after the positive impact of his entire tenure. Secondly, if one were only to view Lampe's appointment in light of the fact that Voetius once led his opposition against Cocceius from Utrecht, then Lampe's appointment to Utrecht would appear more shocking and immediately epoch making--for Lampe was a Cocceian scholar. However, one must remember, by Lampe's day, the Cocceian-Voetian controversy had settled down in favor of the Cocceians; and by then Utrecht represented those who held to a Voetian-Cocceian balance. Hence, in light of this "turn-around", appointing an adherent of the "Untereyckian fusion" to a professorship at Utrecht was to be expected.

Therefore, in light of this "turn-around"; the logical reality that the implementation of the triad system of instruction took time; and that there was no "absolute" victory between the two parties;

⁵⁷ Snijders, 90-91.

it seems better to say that Lampe's appointment marked the beginning of an epoch development within the Dutch approach to theological education, than to say that his appointment marked the victory of the Cocceians over the Voetians, or the "earnest" Cocceians over the "green" Cocceians. Nevertheless, in light of the historical setting, the primary thing to be observed here is that Lampe's appointment, in playing a developmental role in the educational system of the Netherlands, also played a central role in the advancement of the Dutch-German educational link. Therefore, through his professorship and influence at Utrecht, Lampe can be considered as one of the most influential contributors to the history of European theological education and to the educational interest within the entire movement of historic Pietism.

After his appointment, Lampe earnestly set himself to the tasks at hand. He "successfully supported the bestowal of scholarships to Hungarian and German students,"⁵⁸ preached regularly in chapel services, and taught in an admirable and practical way. In addition, he completed three major works: the *Synopsis Historiae sacrae et ecclesiasticae* (1721-1726), which is a history of the Church in Hungary; the *Commentarius Analytica exeticus in Evangelium secundum Joannem* (3 vols., 1724-1726),⁵⁹ his commentary on the book of John; and the *Delineatio Theologia Activae* (1727), "a study in ethics based upon federal theology."⁶⁰

In response to his work and character, Lampe's classes increasingly grew, as did the entire student body of Utrecht, during the time of his tenure. The great love for Lampe was also evident in the fact that many students followed him to Bremen when he later accepted a call to teach there.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁶⁰ O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 67; Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 230-231.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Lampe's Move Back To Germany and His Later Ministry

In 1727, Lampe accepted a call from Bremen to be the pastor of the St. Ansgari church and the Professor of Theology at the University. Lampe made his decision to accept for three reasons: (1) he loved Bremen and considered it his "hometown;"⁶² (2) his health had deteriorated and the climate in Bremen was more suitable for his condition; and, (3) there were some national prejudices that were sadly evoked against him while he was at Utrecht in Holland. These factors are found between a portion of his farewell address to Utrecht and a letter written to his friend Daniel Gerdes, a professor at Gröningen, on June 25, 1727. First, Lampe states in his farewell sermon:

The air and mode of living in Bremen would appear to be much more wholesome for my present, fairly weakened health, which was critically challenged unusually more in this last winter than in previous ones.⁶³

Then in his letter to Gerdes, he writes:

I hope, with God's favor, to resettle within three weeks. I hurry into the open arms of home, and it should be more pleasant for me, for there the last breaths to breath, than in a foreign land, where I have amply learned how one discriminates between natives and foreigners....⁶⁴

Lampe's mentioning of prejudice should not be expanded to imply that the historical link between the two countries was breaking down. The broad history of these two lands during the time period involving our study proves this otherwise, as does Lampe's personal history. Historical evidence shows that the congregations surrounding Utrecht, the student body and faculty at Utrecht, and even Lampe's theological opponents respected him. Furthermore, the fact that the entire country would later implement the triad form of instruction due to Lampe's influence, suggest that Lampe must be speaking of a basic prejudice that comes with any form of

⁶² Thelemann, 8.

⁶³ Snijders, 89.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

nationalism. It is a sad but simple fact, that with borders, differences in language, and the spiritual depravity of humanity, there is prejudice. Unfortunately, it played a role in Lampe's resignation from Utrecht.

When Lampe returned to the city of Bremen, he was received with great honors. The city that once resisted the pietistic "mechanisms" of Untereyck, and had been partially suspicious of Lampe during the Detry controversy, now fully supported him in his practices of piety. Soon he began impacting both his congregation and the University with his Lodensteynian charisma and Untereyckian practicality.

One notable thing that he accomplished in Bremen was the dismantling of the confessional money system. This system involved the giving of an offering prior to communion for ministerial support. Each "communicant would come forward to the alter and lay a gift of money on it."⁶⁵ This was a Lutheran custom that Untereyck, many years before, had attempted to get rid of in the Reformed congregations of Bremen. Untereyck was successful at St. Martin's church, but failed at St. Stephen's. Likewise, Lampe was unable to change this system during his ministry at St. Stephens (1709-1720). However, upon arriving at the St. Ansgari church, his efforts finally brought about the total abandonment of the custom for all the Reformed congregations within the city of Bremen. Lampe then instituted a special fund to which each member could freely contribute on an annual basis in order to support the lively-hood of their pastors.⁶⁶

"Lampe also labored with great joy and success in the university."⁶⁷ However, while at Bremen, Lampe faced an involved accusation, claiming that he was an adherent of Roëllianism. This charge did not come from any of the faculty at Bremen. Instead, it first arose sometime while Lampe was at Utrecht. Even so, a year into his professorship at Bremen, in 1728, Jacobus

⁶⁵ Good, 330.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 384-385.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 385.

Fruytier, a minister in Rotterdam, gained the support of the faculty at Leiden in charging Lampe with Roëllianism.⁶⁸

Roëllianism is named after Herman Alexander Roëll, one of Lampe's teachers at Franeker. Roëll claimed that the second member of the Trinity "possessed the same nature and essence as the first, coexisting with the Father from eternity, appearing in the flesh, and revealing the glory of the Father in his works."⁶⁹ In other words, to Roëll, the Father and the Son were essentially no different, and were only in a distinguishable relationship similar to that between a message giver and a messenger.⁷⁰ In short, Roëll only saw a practical division, not an ontological one within the Trinity.

Of course, in light of all this, the proper understanding of the nature of the Trinity was the general issue behind the controversy between Fruytier and Lampe. Apparently, Fruytier thought that Lampe referred to the eternal generation of the Son as only necessary for God's purposes with humanity, and not as a necessary part of the nature of an essential Trinity.⁷¹ relevant in the revealed Trinity, rather than as necessary to the nature of the essential Trinity. However, for Lampe the sole intention of God was to have fellowship with his creation through the covenant concept. Hence, the whole plan of salvation, which begins with and among the members of the Trinity, is oriented toward the practical task of binding God with humanity and humanity with God. Lampe did not deny an essential Trinity, but saw its essence totally dedicated to God's task. In other words, Lampe understood the purpose of the Trinity as defining its character, and its character as essential to its purpose. Fruytier, however, understood the Trinity as essential in and of itself, separate from any arbitrary purpose God may choose. Accordingly, Fruytier saw the

⁶⁸ Snijders, 90

⁶⁹ "Roëll, Herman Alexander," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Schaff-Herzog, vol. 10, 1911.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ In particular, Good states that Fruytiers allegations centered around Lampe's explanation of John 5:26 ["For just as the Father has life in himself, so he has granted the Son also to have life in himself...." (NRSV)]. See: Good, 391.

purpose of the Trinity as subordinate to its supernatural nature. Lampe, on the other hand, was simply too practical to accept such a dichotomy.

"Even after Lampe's death, Fruytier put his charges forward."⁷² However, after a short time the issue of Roëllianism faded and Lampe was still considered as a man of true orthodox convictions.

In addition to Roëllianism, Lampe was also targeted as being an Arminian during his time at Bremen. Again his accusers came from Leiden. However, this controversy never gained much momentum, and within a year and a half it ended. In fact, shortly after Lampe's death, the Leiden faculty put out a report that claimed that "no dark footprints" of Arminianism were found in Lampe.⁷³

After two years of preaching, teaching, and facing controversy at Bremen, Lampe's ministry would come to an abrupt end. For on December 8, 1729, after giving a lecture at 4 p.m. and making a pastoral call, Lampe "was taken with a hemorrhage."⁷⁴ A few hours later he told a friend, "Blessed is the man whom the Lord when He cometh will find watching."⁷⁵ Within moments after speaking these words another hemorrhage struck him, and he closed his eyes in death at the age of 47.

Synthesis and Summation

Lampe was a remarkable pastor, teacher, author and poet. As a pastor he provided private and public care and catechetical instruction. As a teacher he cared for students by working to get them scholarships, and inspired the Netherlands to institute a triad system of instruction. As an author, he was prolific. For in addition to the works already mentioned,

⁷² Snijders, 90.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Good, 385.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

Lampe produced a communion book, The Holy Ornament of the Wedding Guest of the Lamb at the Table of the Covenant (1719);⁷⁶ a tract entitled Balsam from Giliad against Contagious Diseases (1713);⁷⁷ and a devotional book entitled the Eleven Meditations on Death (1729).⁷⁸ Furthermore, Lampe also wrote many poems and hymns; several of which are found in Otto Thelemann's *Friedrich Adolph Lampe, Sein Leben und seine Theologie*.⁷⁹

Lampe was also a great theologian. This is strongly evident in the fact that he was able to combine Cocceian methodology and Voetian practicality. Lampe's theological contribution is not characterized by the addition of any new speculation within the theological system of the day, but rather is characterized by his alteration of the theological system itself. Before Lampe, the system was excessively scholastic; after Lampe, it was both moderately scholastic and tangibly practical.

In reviewing Lampe's biographical data, it has been shown that Lampe exercised the true traits of historic Pietism. He was practical and emphasized the experiential aspect of religion. He was also biblically centered and incorporated an oppositive element into his thinking. He saw the need for reform and he did his best to bring it about. It has also been shown that some of the charges brought against historic Pietism were in fact brought against Lampe in a personal way as well. Like historic Pietism, Lampe often had his tendencies confused as being his true traits and vice versa. This happened to him during the controversies with Detry and Fruytier.

Furthermore, by reviewing Lampe's life, the relevant historical elements of Germany and the Netherlands have been brought into clear focus. For example: Lampe's ancestors were directly effected by the persecution of Alva; Lampe himself was able to take advantage of the educational link that developed between Germany and the Netherlands; and the era of free enterprise may have produced some of the national prejudices that were involved in his

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 389.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 390.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 385. Ironically, Lampe completed the Eleven Meditations on the morning of the day he died. A complete list of Lampe's works is given in: Van der Aa, 86-90.

⁷⁹ Thelemann, 126-149.

signation from Utrecht. Yet, in addition to these "small" historical connections, we have also seen how the historical controversies (i.e., the Arminian and Voetian-Cocceian controversies) were of a "large" importance to Lampe. For example, he directly connected with the Cocceian-Voetian controversy by being involved in its expression between the "earnest" and "green" Cocceians. Moreover, this controversy would find its workable resolution in the triad form of construction that Lampe inspired after his appointment to Utrecht. The Arminian controversy affected him in that it opened the door for the more moderate form of infralapsarianism, which Lampe would hold in tension with his high Calvinist tendencies. Also this controversy hit close to home when he was classified as an Arminian late in his life.

Finally, in reviewing Lampe's biographical data, we have seen how he implemented many aspects from the various "schools of influence." First, in that Lampe adhered to the "Untereyckian fusion;" lived in the same city as Untereyck; and faced similar suspicions from local authorities; it is highly likely that Lampe, like Untereyck, claimed the authority of the Synod of Dort on the basis of its pietistic "mechanisms." Furthermore, from the information given, there is no doubt that the other two symbols of the Reformed tradition, the doctrine of predestination and the Heidelberg Catechism, impacted Lampe, and that he molded his thinking and ministry around them. Second, our study has also shown how Cocceianism was the key school of thought behind Lampe, and how it was introduced to him through his professors at Bremen and Franeker. Finally, Lampe's connection with Reformed Pietism was clearly established. Particularly, it was shown how Lampe came into contact with Lodensteynian Pietism through his grandfather Zeller, and how he received the "Untereyckian fusion" through Cornelius DeHase at Bremen.

With all these connections made, the first sub-problem to the thesis topic (i.e., to identify Lampe and the historical components involved in identifying the theological genre to which he contributed) has been fully addressed. With this accomplished, we are now able to move to an investigation into the theological "particulars" involved within the thesis topic itself.

However, to close this portion of our study, one final note from Christian Sepp is appropriate. He writes:

One could describe the influence that [Lampe] has had without limit. What a man he must have been, to have left such a track in such a short time....⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Snijders, 92. Brackets mine.

PART III

LAMPE'S SYSTEM OF GRACE

Earlier it was said that Lampe was not to be considered as just a follower of Cocceius and covenant theology, but as "the great spokesman of this circle."¹ In light of this claim, the five unique Cocceian "approaches" to theology were put forward.² The first three "approaches" (i.e., a central biblicism, a liberation from philosophy, and an emphasis on interpretation) dealt primarily with scripture, or revelation, and its interpretation. The last two (i.e., a unique historical methodology and a covenantal view of human nature) dealt primarily with the divine-human covenant idea within history. In retrospect, one can see that the last two "approaches" obviously depend on the first three; for how one interprets scripture will certainly determine how one sees scripture acting within history.³ Furthermore, the fourth point (a unique historical methodology) can be considered as the point of convergence between the understanding and interpretation of scripture, and the nature of humanity. For in the temporal dimensions of time and space (also known as history), revelation, the interpretation of that revelation, and humanity's response meet.⁴ Thus, to get at the heart and soul of Lampe's covenantal thought, or system of grace, one must examine the Cocceian/Lampean covenant idea as it relates to history (or the fourth Cocceian/Lampean "approach" to theology).

The Cocceian/Lampean covenant idea rests on two fundamental principles: (1) the pre-creation or pre-temporal existence of the covenant, and (2) the post-creation progression of that covenant.⁵ Furthermore, within these two concepts there are several connected ideas -- the

¹ See chapter IV, footnote #23.

² See pages 73 ff. above.

³ For a pithy statement on the direct connection between scripture and history, as understood by Cocceius, see the first full paragraph on page 79 of this study.

⁴ See pages 80 ff. above.

⁵ See pages 79 ff. above.

eternal covenant of redemption between God the Father and God the Son, the covenant of works, the fall, the federal principle, the covenant of grace, election, human responsibility, and the progression of the eternal covenant within temporal dimensions -- "each of which is essential to developed covenant theology and which together express its doctrinal outlook in all essentials."⁶ Thus, to fully understand Lampe's covenant thought, or system of grace, these "essentials" need to be examined individually, then synthesized in due process. Part III of this paper is an attempt to accomplish this task.

However, before beginning this portion of our study, it is important to note the intended methodology for engaging these issues. Two procedures must be mentioned here. First, in order to keep from confusing the factors within Lampe's understanding of grace, the eternal covenant concept will be dealt with separately from the issue of predestination and election. The eternal covenant concept will be discussed under the heading of: "System A -- The Eternal Covenant Partnership"; and election will be discussed under the heading of: "System B -- Election." More specifically, the first chapter in this section, or chapter six, will be dedicated to the first "essential" in the eternal covenant partnership; or, in other words, it will be dedicated to Lampe's understanding of the existence, design, and purpose of the pre-temporal covenant of redemption among the persons of the Trinity. The second chapter in this section, or chapter seven, will address the second "essential"; or Lampe's understanding of the progression of the eternal

⁶ Considering the "Trinitarian-federal arrangement" (i.e., the pre-temporal covenant), and the "one covenant of grace revealed and enacted in two contrasting dispensations" (i.e., the post-creation progression of the pre-temporal covenant), Paul Helm states that there "are several connected ideas -- the eternal covenant of redemption between God the Father and God the Son, the federal principle, the one covenant of grace, justification by faith alone -- each of which is essential to developed covenant theology and which together express its doctrinal outlook in all essentials." In light of the individual definitions of the terms provided, I simply extended Helm's list. For example, in covenant theology, the one eternal covenant is divided by the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. Hence, in light of Helm's "one eternal covenant," I have stated the "covenant of works" and the "covenant of grace." Likewise, one cannot understand the "federal principle" (i.e., the position of Adam in relation to future humanity) without holding it in relation to the fall. Thus, I included the fall in my list of sub-issues. Moreover, when Helm states "justification by faith alone," I mention "election" and "human responsibility." This is a valid substitution in that Reformed theology holds justification under the umbrella of the two issues I have mentioned here. I have expressed these changes, not only to give proper citation to Helm, but to also emphasize that my altered list, which corresponds to this paper more succinctly, can still bear the claim that "each is essential to developed covenant theology and which together express its doctrinal outlook in all essentials." See: Paul Helm, "Calvin and the Covenant: Unity and Continuity," *The Evangelical Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (April 1983): 67-68.

covenant within temporal dimensions; or in other words, it will address Lampe's understanding of the covenant of works, the fall, the "federal principle," and the covenant of grace and the *Heilsordnung*. Finally, the third chapter in this section, or chapter eight, will present Lampe's doctrine of election.

One should keep in mind that these topics are not to be considered as separate in nature.⁷ It is simply the hope of this author to present these issues as "transparencies," which the reader, after "viewing" them, can place over one another and discover their inter-relatedness within the whole of Lampe's understanding; and not only see Lampe's complete covenantal thought more clearly, but also fully identify Lampe's understanding of the role of an individual in appropriating grace, and in the progression of history.

The second methodological procedure to be employed in this section, is that Lampe's views in each chapter will be compared to Calvin and Cocceius. This methodology has been inspired by two related observations. First, there is an evident tension in Lampe between supralapsarianism, infralapsarianism and the idea of covenant.⁸ Second, many have the misconception that covenant theology, or moderate Calvinism, was an attempt to alleviate the contradictoriness of the doctrine of supralapsarianism.⁹ No doubt, many moderates had this as their objective. In fact, concerning Part II of this paper, the reader might think that this writer has

⁷ Later it will be shown, contrary to Lampe, that Calvin did not necessarily equate these two.

⁸ See pages 68-69 above.

⁹ As Anthony Hoekema states: "[A] common misconception is that the doctrine of the covenant of grace, as it developed into the so-called federal theology of the seventeenth century, represents an attempt to soften the arbitrariness of the doctrine of election, in reaction against the more rigorous predestinationism of sixteenth century Calvinism. This is the impression given by Perry Miller, in his *New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*.... While not disputing Prof. Miller's thorough knowledge of New England theology, I would be inclined to question the thoroughness of his knowledge of Calvin. For, as we shall see, the essential points of the doctrine of the covenant of grace, including particularly the emphasis on man's responsibility in the covenant which Miller finds characteristic of [the] seventeenth century puritans, are found already in Calvin. Neither must the doctrine of the covenant of grace be thought of as an attempt to find a theological escape-hatch whereby one can get away from the rigorous harshness of the doctrine of predestination. For in all three of the sixteenth century men... (Zwingli, Bullinger, and Calvin), the covenant doctrine was taught along with a firm and uncompromising insistence on the doctrine of election." Brackets mine. Anthony A. Hoekema, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace," *The Reformed Review* 15, no. 4 (May 1962): 1-2.

perceived all moderate Calvinists in this way, and has himself succumb to such a misconception.¹⁰ However, if one looks closely at the material given, one will see that the proper motive of the moderate parties within Calvinism was to view Reformed orthodoxy as being more spacious than the rigid parties suggested.¹¹ This means that the moderate groups understood Calvin's own doctrinal parameters on issues such as predestination and human responsibility as being more open than that of the rigid adherents to the Synod of Dort. In other words, "proper" moderates were not in favor of resolving contradiction by implementing new doctrinal "approaches", but were in favor of exposing and utilizing the "grass-roots" covenant tension of Calvinism.

Therefore, in considering the above, and in respect to the first observation (i.e., the tension evident in Lampe), Lampe's understanding of election and the covenant idea within history will be compared to Calvin in detail in order to show that Lampe was a "proper" Calvinist; and that he and Calvin held to an unresolved tension in their understandings of the divine-human relationship; and that Calvin, despite historic misconceptions, presented a moderate doctrine of covenant within his writings as well.¹² Furthermore, Lampe, though represented in Part II as having the same theological "approaches" as Cocceius, still has particular variations that distinguish him at times from the latter. Hence, to discover these variations, Lampe will be compared to Cocceius as well.

With all this said, and our method of investigation before us, we now turn to examine Lampe's comprehension of the first "essential" within the eternal covenant partnership -- the pre-temporal covenant.

¹⁰ See pages 54 ff. above.

¹¹ See chapter III, footnote #65.

¹² See footnote #9 above.

CHAPTER VI

SYSTEM A -- THE ETERNAL COVENANT PARTNERSHIP THE FIRST "ESSENTIAL"

The First "Essential" -- The Pre-Temporal Covenant: Its Existence, Design and Purpose

The first fundamental principle, or "essential," in Lampe's eternal covenant idea (System A) is that the covenant concept first exists in the Trinity.¹³ In other words, there existed, before time, a covenant of redemption between the Father and the Son.¹⁴ The existence of this pre-temporal covenant is clearly formulated in a key question presented by Lampe:¹⁵

Who can comprehend that there is one person in God's nature who demands a satisfaction, another who does the same, and one other who they dedicate to the task; or who can comprehend that the three took a deliberation over it, and divided this distinct work among themselves, and that through this they took on separate representations among themselves for sinners...?¹⁶

In addition, the pre-temporal covenant is further attested to by Lampe's claim that, "the covenant of grace, in its essence, is an eternal covenant."¹⁷

These citations poignantly project Lampe's comprehension of the existence of a pre-temporal covenant as the source from which the whole covenant program operates. For if God had not pledged within himself to create and covenant with creation, and to reveal that covenant through the Word, then all knowledge of God, ourselves, and nature would not have been possible. As Lampe states:

¹³ See page 80 above.

¹⁴ From now on the phrases "pre-temporal covenant" and "the covenant of redemption" will be treated synonymously.

¹⁵ The following quotation is given on page 80 of this study. Due to its central importance, it is provided again at this point.

¹⁶ *Geheimnis*, I, 53.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 119.

In order to bring him [humanity] into his [God's] fellowship, there originated then, a dual universal covenant: the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace.... Consequently, everything proceeds from this main twofold covenant.... In general, God is nowhere more gloriously revealed than in the covenant of grace.¹⁸

Along with substantiating the existence of a pre-temporal covenant, the quotations above provide two "qualifications" to Lampean theology -- a presumed temporal order in the Trinity, and a presumed role for humanity within the eternal scheme of God. First: there is a certain temporal order in the work of the persons of the Trinity.¹⁹ This is primarily apparent in Lampe's "Trinity question" above. According to it, the persons of the Father and Spirit, after some deliberation, decided that the person of the Son would be sent to redeem creation. Without further examination, this thought can lead to two misconceptions. First, some might think that Lampe is supporting a non-ontological view of the Trinity, and that he only sees the persons of the Trinity as temporal designations for the purpose of revealing the work of God to man. Thinking such as this stood behind Fruytier's allegations, which accused Lampe of being an adherent of Roëllianism.²⁰ Unfortunately, the suspicion of Roëllianism finds further support when Lampe states:

We do not endeavor to contemplate God so much in his nature, as in those relationships, which he conceives in the covenant of grace.... But, however one desires to understand, God must be understood in a proper manner. It is certain that the type of work, which the triune God (as God of the covenant) divided among himself, completely required such an order.²¹

However, as stated earlier in this paper, Lampe did not deny the essential Trinity, he simply saw the whole plan of salvation, as conceived among the persons of the Trinity, as being oriented to the practical task of binding God with humanity and humanity with God.²² It is within

¹⁸ *Geheimnis*, I, 6-7. Brackets mine.

¹⁹ O'Malley suggests this Lampean "qualification" in his book *Pilgrimage of Faith*. See: O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 68.

²⁰ See pages 120 ff..

²¹ *Geheimnis*, I, 54.

²² See footnote #18 above for one purpose of the covenant as being fellowship with humanity. Also see page 120 of this study.

this frame of mind that he ascribed a temporal order to the persons of the triune God. Lampe did not set out to define the distinction between the nature and work of the Trinity, rather he simply held it all in tension for the sake of practicality. This is clearly evident when he writes:

It presses heavily upon all of its aspects, to say that the Trinity, who is spoken of in the Holy Scriptures, has been conceived only for mere designations, or for the ways, powers and outpourings of God to exist.... [Through] such an adulteration every mystery is removed, and the manner of the covenant of grace does not permit this.... It is incontestable that an all-wise and most secure order can operate in the highly-praised Trinity. The Word of God shows us that one person is the first, and it names him Father; that one other person is the second, and it names him Son; and that one other is the third, and he is called the Holy Spirit. This order is *essential* and *unalterable*, although its precise nature is a much too lofty mystery for deficient reason.²³

The second misconception that can arise from a "face-value" observation of the Lampean temporal ascription given to the Trinity, is that it might be accidental, and that it is simply a byproduct of the temporal matrix in which we all live. What is meant here resides in the idea that though thought can transcend the boundaries of time and space, it always comes in contact with the influence of time. Now, it is not the intention of this paper to present a philosophical debate over this, or to fully explore the concept of temporal reality, but it must be noted that time is a created arena, from which no things escape. Thus, as one tries to consider the internal actions between the persons of the Trinity, or any other concept, it will be perceived through, or comprehended within, temporal and spatial dimensions. In other words, whether or not the influence of temporal and spatial dynamics is good or bad, or if it has a large or small effect, the fact remains, there is such an influence; and all things, including God, is pondered within these dimensions. In light of this, one might think that Lampe, being naturally stuck within the aforementioned "time-space dilemma," and being unaware, and/or unconcerned, with any philosophical speculations,²⁴ unintentionally described the internal actions of God in a temporal

²³ Lampe, *Geheimnis*, I, 53-54. Brackets and emphases mine.

²⁴ Being "unconcerned" would seem to fit with the Cocceian attitude on the usefulness of philosophy. See pages 96 ff. of this study.

manner. However, to think this is a mistake. For Lampe intentionally ascribed "temporality" to the Trinity on the basis of how the concept of covenant is revealed in scripture and creation.

Lampe saw models of the eternal covenant within scripture as having an element of sequence or progression, and thus, since he understood these models as examples of the full nature of the eternal covenant, he ascribed sequence and/or progression back to the pre-temporal covenant.²⁵

His use of this idea of reciprocation within the eternal covenant is evident when he writes:

Although the announcement of many various covenants between God and man was made now and then, they, however, presupposed this universal one, and were only as supplements to it.²⁶

Furthermore, his understanding of how time and progression is involved in all covenant examples is evident when he speaks of one's service and worship within the covenant relationship:

The service of God should be reasonable, it must be arranged according to the circumstances of time and the economy of God.²⁷

In addition to particular divine-human models in scripture, Lampe also sees nature as modeling and reciprocating the quality of sequence, or progression, within the pre-temporal covenant. This is poignantly suggested when Lampe writes: "It [the eternal covenant] teaches nature with its silence [*Stillschweigen*]...."²⁸ This implies that nature itself bears within it the qualities of the divine concept of covenant. For when an entity, or in this case nature, is taught, it internalizes the essence of the "teaching," and becomes a part of the teaching by bearing witness to it externally. For example, God has agreed within himself to make a tree for humanity, and this

²⁵ Compare this principle of reciprocity with the parallel discussion concerning the two particulars of the Cocceian covenantal view of human nature. See pages 84-87.

²⁶ *Geheimnis*, I, 6. Lampe continues this line of thought in particular terms when he writes: "The statute concerning the tree of the knowledge of good and evil was an appendix to the covenant of works; and all covenants that the Lord subsequently set up with Noah, Abraham, the children of Israel on Sinai and others, presupposed the covenant of grace." *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Geheimnis*, II, 19. Also see Stephen Strehle, *Calvinism, Federalism, and Scholasticism: A Study of the Reformed Doctrine of Covenant*, Ph.D. diss., University of Basel, 1986 (Peter Lang: New York, 1988), 362-363.

²⁸ *Geheimnis*, I, 7. Brackets mine.

tree is to bear fruit for food. The covenant or agreement to bear fruit is then carried out through a timely progression. Now, since the tree is a part of a larger eternal covenant plan; and therefore, in essence, is "taught" by the eternal covenant; then conversely, any aspect or covenant quality that the tree may possess (i.e., timely progression) should be considered as an aspect or quality within the determined pre-temporal design of the larger eternal covenant as well.²⁹

In considering the above "qualification" (i.e., the given temporal order of the Trinity), which arises from Lampe's claims concerning the existence of the covenant of redemption between the Father and the Son, it has been shown that: (1) Lampe actually perceived a temporal order in the work of the persons of the Trinity. (2) Lampe did not understand "temporal" to mean that God took on the nature of a triune God for the duration of any certain task at hand, but rather understood "temporal" to mean a sequence, or progress, in the internal action of God, which is witnessed to by the character of development revealed through covenant examples in scripture and in nature. (3) Lampe understood the validity of ascribing "modeled" development, or progression, to the pre-temporal covenant on the basis of a reciprocity between revelation and its origin.

The fundamental reason for observing this three-part "qualification" has been to make the reader fully aware of the fact, that for Lampe, progression and/or development is foundational in understanding the entire work of Christ, or in understanding both the personal and cosmic systems of grace.³⁰ Furthermore, for Lampe, all revelation, in any form, is progressive, and always points

²⁹ All of this is supported by Lampe's use of the seven days of creation as a sequential model for his whole theological system. See this paper's parallel discussion on "natural" time on pages 85 ff. One should give particular attention to footnote #77 in chapter IV above. Also see Möller, 420 ff. For a broader perspective, one should also note Stolzenberg's opinion concerning this kind of thinking. He states: "More and more in Federalism... stoic pantheism penetrates through all theism. Laws of nature turn into utilitarian laws of world order, and man's divine relationship turns into a natural relationship. In the end the Greek spirit is lord over the Semitic, Philosophy over religion, the humanistic over the reformational. Cited in Strehle, 361, footnote #21.

³⁰ As O'Malley states: "The Word, nature, and history all bear witness for the "Nachfolger Christi" of the coming, decisive consummation toward which his personal pilgrimage is directed and from which it derives its deepest meaning...." O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 298.

back to the pre-temporal covenant between the persons of the Trinity.³¹ If one fails to recognize these principles, then one will never understand Lampean or Cocceian theology.

The second "qualification" to Lampean theology, as set forth in Lampe's claims concerning the existence of a pre-temporal eternal covenant, is that there is a presumed role for humanity within the eternal scheme of God. Lampe clearly states that the origination of the covenant was for the purpose of fellowship with humanity.³² Hence, humanity is the recipient of the pre-temporal covenant. However, the pre-temporal covenant between the persons of the Trinity was also a covenant that included the making of a covenant with humankind.³³ Thus, before the foundations of time, humanity has not only been considered a recipient of God's gracious covenant, but has been considered as a participant in that covenant as well.³⁴ The element of human participation within the design of the pre-temporal eternal covenant is clearly supported by the definition that Lampe gives to the term "covenant" itself. He states:

This is certain... that the chief meaning of the word itself is a... contract that two parties set up with each other in such a manner that they unite to the achievement of a certain duty by the promise of certain goods and the threat of punishment for the faithless.³⁵

With this definition, and in respect to a pre-temporal divine-human intention, it sounds as if humans are equal partners in the arrangement. However, one must recall that humanity is not

³¹ In support of seeing all revelation as progressive, Lampe writes: Since new discoveries are still being made daily in nature...; what wonder is it then, that new discoveries are also taking place through the increasing diligence into the study of God's Word? And what wonder is it that the promised growth in knowledge in the last times (Dan. 12:4; Ezek. 47:4) *always* increases until it finally becomes fulfilled? (Lampe, V, 124-125. Also see this citation in Möller, 400; O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 66; and O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 298. Emphasis mine.) Concerning all revelation as pointing back to the pre-temporal covenant, see footnotes 26 and 28 above.

³² See footnote #18 above.

³³ The covenant of works and the covenant of grace are the two labels that Lampe (and any Federal theologian) gives to the divine-human parts of the one eternal plan between the persons of the Trinity. See footnotes 18 and 26 above.

³⁴ As stated earlier: "In the Cocceian/Lampean understanding, human action is not a juxtaposed autonomous reality to God, which is at some point incorporated into his plan. But rather the will or action of humanity is designed from the start as a cooperative element within God's creative purpose." Taken from page 81 of this study.

³⁵ Geheimnis, I, 3. Also see: Strehle, 360.

only a participant, but a recipient. Thus, "it is therefore not a 'contract' in the usual sense, 'implying two partners, but an arrangement made solely by one who determines it.'"³⁶ Yet within the "arrangement," humanity is given responsibility. (This tension between the divine and human character of the covenant will be discussed in more detail latter.)

So far, in reviewing the first "essential" to Lampe's theology, we have seen that God's gracious initiative, the implementation of progression, and human responsibility are all integral aspects of God's plan from its very conception in eternity. More specifically, we have seen that Lampe understood God the Father as the initiator of the covenant, the Spirit as co-initiator, and the Son as the person sent to fulfill the covenant task;³⁷ and that humanity is a recipient and participant within this covenant, as it takes form through a two-fold arrangement -- the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. However, Lampe continues to build upon this general recognition of the covenant partnership by giving further references to the roles of each involved party; and in doing so, provides a better understanding of the first "essential". For example, Lampe further defines the role of God when he explains that the "first party of the covenant of grace has always been the Trinitarian God,"³⁸ "[who] can no longer be recognized in nature as he ought because of man's sin, and therefore one must 'take a magnifying glass for help,' which is 'the bright crystal of the covenant of grace.'"³⁹ Thus, God as the initiator, or first party, not only initiates the covenant for fellowship with humanity (as stated earlier), but also to reveal himself

³⁶ Here Jakob Jocz is citing Otto Weber. See: Jakob Jocz, The Covenant, A Theology of Human Destiny (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1968), 30.

³⁷ See footnote #16 above.

³⁸ *Geheimnis*, II, 97.

³⁹ O'Malley citing Lampe. See: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 68. It should be noted here that Lampe's comment concerning the inability of God to be recognized in nature, due to sin, does not break down the earlier point concerning the reciprocity of revelation. Lampe is stating here that without the covenant of grace God cannot be understood. Elsewhere, we have seen Lampe claim that nature is taught by the covenant of grace. Hence, God can only be seen in nature as nature is seen within the "magnifying glass" of the covenant of grace. Thus, Lampe's nature, God and revelation equation can be put something like this: (1) A person sees nature. (2) A person hears the Word of God and is given the construct of the covenant of grace. Now (1) + (2) = seeing nature as witnessing to God. (1) - (2) = no evidence of the divine, or only a strictly limited evidence of the divine in nature.

and to bring glory to himself as well. More particularly, the glory brought to God through the covenant is due to the fact that "all the promises are his," and "the covenant deals only with his own goods..., which he distributes according to his free [pleasure]." ⁴⁰ In short, God is revealed as a God of fellowship and promise, which translates to mean that he is revealed as a God of love and trust. ⁴¹ Yet, since the whole covenant system of promise and community is designed and initiated by God, God is also revealed as absolute sovereign.

Lampe further describes the Son's role within the eternal covenant by claiming him as, in the words of Steven O'Malley, the "Guarantor and Angel of the covenant, [who] makes atonement for sin which is required by the Father...." ⁴² For Lampe, Christ is the Angel of the eternal covenant in that it is through his nature and work that the plan, which was established and determined within the internal counsel of God, is carried out. And Christ is the guarantor of the eternal covenant in that his work is sufficient to properly fulfill, or complete the terms of the plan. In other words, in being God, Christ provides the divine covenant requirements of righteousness and holiness and breaches the chasm between himself and sinful humanity; and in being incarnate, Christ, through obedience, fulfills the divine requirements and provides the only example of how the human covenant obligation should be met. In considering this, there is no doubt in why Lampe claimed Jesus as the "one content of the covenant of grace;" ⁴³ nor is there any doubt in why he wrote:

⁴⁰ *Geheimnis*, I, 63. Brackets mine. Also see: Strehle, 361.

⁴¹ In describing Cocceius' parallel definition of the covenant of God, McCoy states: "There is most certainly community, trust, obligation, and promise in the covenant of God. 'The covenant,' Cocceius says, 'signifies mutual testimonials of love, which on the part of God is benevolence, and on the part of the people is gratitude demonstrated through their obedience, by which God is glorified.'" McCoy, 167-168. Jocz also gives a full description of the aspects of community (or fellowship), promise (or obligation), and love in chapter two of his book *The Covenant*. See: Jocz, 17-83.

⁴² O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 68.

⁴³ *Geheimnis*, II, 111.

One has never known of any other basis for the covenant of grace other than Christ....⁴⁴

It is true that Lampe understood the Spirit as the co-initiator,⁴⁵ which stresses the Spirit's role prior to the sending of the Son, but he also understood the Spirit to be the one who "mediates the fellowship of sinners with the reconciling Son and the reconciled Father."⁴⁶ Hence, the Spirit has a "pre" and "post-sending" role within the covenant work of Christ. Moreover, in the "post-sending" role, the Spirit leads a "reborn and justified covenant partner" through stages of change, taking the individual believer into a fuller walk of holiness.⁴⁷ Hence, as the element of progression, which was spoken of earlier, coincides with the covenant work of Christ in history,⁴⁸ it also coincides with the work of the Spirit in an individual's life.⁴⁹

The aspect of reconciliation also deserves explication. Reconciliation was required upon humanity's breaking of the pre-temporally designed covenant. However, was reconciliation, an "after-effect" only; or was it a designed element within the eternal covenant? In light of the pre-temporal covenant of redemption between the Father and the Son, and the "pre" and "post-sending" role of the Spirit, it would seem to be a bold mistake to say that reconciliation was not a part of the eternal plan right from the start. Hence, if reconciliation was the purpose of Christ, and if the mediation of that reconciliation was the role of the Spirit, than it is only logical to suggest, that the element which would cause the need for reconciliation was included within the

⁴⁴ *Geheimnis*, II, 101-108.

⁴⁵ See footnote #16 above.

⁴⁶ Cited by O'Malley. See: O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 294.

⁴⁷ As Lampe states: "For holiness is that work of God's grace, and preeminently of the Holy spirit, whereby the reborn and justified covenant-partner is more and more changed, is freed more and more from blemishes of sin, and is made ever more susceptible to living in all goodness." Cited in: *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 313.

⁴⁸ See this paper's discussion concerning the Cocceian understanding of the role of Christ in history on page 82 ff..

⁴⁹ Later there will be more said on the parallel between the work of Christ in history and the work of Christ, through the Holy Spirit, in an individual.

pre-temporal eternal covenant design of God as well. Therefore, was sin, or the fall, a designed element within the pre-temporal covenant of redemption between the Father and the Son?

The importance in asking the above question (which will be addressed in more detail at a later point in this paper) has been to point out the tension between Lampe's fully developed pre-temporal covenant idea and his biblical soteriology. Thus, it appears that tension, like progression, is an integral part of Lampe's system.

In summation, we have stated to this point that Lampe believed: (1) in the existence of a pre-temporal covenant between the Father and the Son; (2) that this covenant is revealed through its temporal expression, which is developed in the whole course of scripture, and, more specifically, is modeled by particular divine-human covenants in scripture, as well as by processes in nature; (3) that, in light of the various evidence provided in scripture and in nature, the idea of progression is an integral part of the pre-temporal plan; (4) that, since the pre-temporal designs of God, like progression, are revealed in scripture, history and nature, there is formed a principle of reciprocity between progression in creation and divine revelation; (5) that human responsibility was an integral part of the pre-temporal covenant design; (6) that the pre-temporal covenant plan is an eternal plan; (7) that all things stem from the pre-temporal eternal covenant, and its temporal implementation takes place at creation, and has two parts -- the covenant of works and the covenant of grace; (8) that God the Father is the initiator of the covenant, and that he initiates it for his Glory and for fellowship with humanity on the basis of his love and trust; (9) that God the Son is the "Guarantor" and "Angel" of the covenant, and is the central figure in the whole covenant design; and at last, (10) that the Holy Spirit mediates the covenant work of Christ to individuals in history.⁵⁰ These ten factors formulate the first "essential" in Lampe's system of grace.

⁵⁰ According to Lampe, the Spirit mediated the effectual work of Christ, both in the Old and New Testaments, and therefore in the two revealed all-encompassing historic divisions. Furthermore, Lampe states that the OT Church attained salvation by receiving the future hope of the Messiah through faith. Hence, as a person of the NT receives the work of Christ through the Holy Spirit in faith, so a person of the OT claims the witness of the future work of Christ through the Holy Spirit in faith. However, the OT Church did not receive full salvation until the work of Christ was complete. In support of this, note the following: First, Lampe writes: "The OT Church had the correct understanding of the attainment of salvation, namely... in this life by faith, as Habakkuk 2:4 makes known."

Before moving on to the second "essential" in Lampe's understanding of the eternal covenant partnership, it is important to see how Lampe's first "essential" (i.e., the pre-temporal covenant of redemption between the Father and the Son) compares to Calvin and Cocceius directly. For as stated in the introduction to this section, such a comparison is valuable in that it will properly "calibrate" Lampe between traditional Calvinism and later Cocceianism; and thus, will bring further clarity to his position.

Comparative Analyses and Additional Contributions to Lampe's First "Essential"

A Comparative Analysis with John Calvin

In holding to a pronounced doctrine of a pre-temporal covenant of redemption, Lampe was following the pattern established by Cocceius and developed in seventeenth century Federal Theology;⁵¹ for Calvin himself did not emphasize this doctrine.⁵² Moreover, in addition to not emphasizing the pre-temporal pact within his writings, Calvin also did not stress the fuller concept of covenant. However, as Paul Helm states:

It would be incorrect to think that because Calvin does not give the word 'covenant' the prominence that it was later given he was not thinking in covenantal

(*Geheimnis*, III, 760-761) Second, at another point, when speaking about an example of the process of salvation in David, Lampe writes: "These gifts [of the Holy Spirit within salvation] are in the right order; although God had promised them, he [David] had to ask for them." (Brackets mine. *Geheimnis*, III, 796-797) Then, at yet another point, Lampe writes concerning the spiritual "lacks" of the OT, where he states: "The second lack was the sparing measure of the gifts of the Holy Spirit.... To this belongs... an unfulfilled degree of salvation...." (*Geheimnis*, IV, 1617-1618) Hence, the covenant work of Christ was and is effectual in any point in history; either before or after his incarnation. The reader should also note how Lampe's understanding of the forgiveness of persons in the OT directly matches that of Cocceius, as expressed in the debate between the latter and Voetius (See pages 61-62 of this study; specifically note the quotation by McCoy, which is footnote #72 of chapter III).

⁵¹ "Though it originated in the sixteenth century, covenant theology flourished in the seventeenth as a reaction against the abstractions of Reformed scholasticism, and as a defense against the Arminian attack on predestination." Everett H. Emerson, "Calvin and covenant Theology," *Church History* 25 (1956): 138. Compare this statement by Emerson to the earlier discussions concerning that which historic Pietism sought to counter, and the relevant controversies involved in the development of Reformed pietism. See pages 53 and 54-65 of this study.

⁵² Hoekema, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace," 3.

terms. It has been said of the Elizabethan Puritan John Knewstub that he 'took the covenant pattern so completely for granted that the word itself appears only now and then, quite casually'. The same may turn out to be true of Knewstub's contemporary, John Calvin.⁵³

Helm's suggestion is accurate, for two reasons. First, the overall gist of Calvin's theology fits the covenant motif. If this were not so, then the history of the development of covenant theology within the Reformed church would either be non-existent, or would portray only a minority movement.⁵⁴ Second, Helm's statement is supported by the fact that there are areas within Calvin's writings where Calvin literally supports the general covenant motif, and more specifically, the concept of the pre-temporal covenant of redemption. For example, in support of the latter idea, Calvin writes:

We well know... Christ was promised from the beginning: to restore the fallen world and to succor lost men.... Surely, ...we infer that he was appointed by God's eternal plan to purge the uncleanness of men.... Since we learn that Christ himself was divinely appointed to help miserable sinners, whoever leaps over these bounds too much indulges foolish curiosity.⁵⁵

Furthermore, in support of the concept of the "general" covenant between God and humanity, Calvin states that "all men adopted by God into the company of his people since the beginning of the world were covenanted to him by... the bond [of grace]".⁵⁶ Hence, from these examples, it is

⁵³ Helm, 67.

⁵⁴ History clearly shows that covenant theology, especially the Cocceian variant, rose to become the prominent majority within Calvinism. As it was stated in Part II of this paper: "In fact, Cocceius' covenant theology, of Federalism, was affirmed as orthodox, and during the next century it was 'to transcend in importance the scholastic position which opposed it.'" (See page 60, and footnote # 62 of chapter III above.) Furthermore, the historical development of covenant theology is concisely and accurately given in John T. McNeill's first footnote to the tenth chapter of book two of Calvin's *Institutes*. McNeill writes: "In this chapter, especially sections 1-5 and 8, Calvin unfolds the doctrine of the covenant.... Zwingli, Oecolampadius, William Tyndale, Bucer, and Bullinger all made the covenant of grace a substantive element in theology. Their conception of the covenant was advanced by Zacharias Ursinus (d. 1583) and Caspar Olevianus (d. 1587), the Heidelberg Reformers, and by Robert Rollock (d. 1599) in Scotland. The full development of the covenant theology came only in the seventeenth century and was expressed in the Westminster Confession (1647), chapter VII, and in the influential work of John Cocceius, *Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei* (1648). *Institutes*, McNeill's ed., 428.

⁵⁵ *Institutes*, II.12.4; McNeill's ed., 467.

⁵⁶ Brackets mine. This statement, in its entirety, goes as follows: "Now we can clearly see from what has already been said that all men adopted by God into the company of his people since the beginning of the world were covenanted to him by the same law and by the bond of the same doctrine as obtains among us." What Calvin is speaking of here, when he says, "the same doctrine as obtains among us", is the NT understanding of Grace. This

obvious that Calvin held to a covenant concept, and to the existence of a pre-temporal covenant of redemption between the Father and the Son.

Even though Calvin admits in his Institutes that, "since the beginning of the world," God has made a covenant of grace with all those "adopted" into fellowship, he actually does not speak fully of the covenant of grace, as such, until a later discussion concerning Abraham.⁵⁷ It seems as if Calvin understood the pre-temporal eternal covenant of grace as being temporally "set in motion" at creation, but not "officially" established until God's pact with Abraham. This varies from Lampe in that the latter understood the eternal covenant of grace as being "set in motion" with creation and the covenant of works, and "officially" established after the fall. Thus, for Calvin, the divine-human part of the eternal covenant has two dispensations: that of Abraham and the Old Testament, and that of the Gospels.⁵⁸ For Lampe, the divine-human part of the eternal covenant has two "divisions", and three "dispensations". First, the covenant is divided into the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. These are the divisions. Second, the covenant of

statement rest in the context of Calvin introducing the similarity between the Old and New Testaments. He goes on to claim that the Patriarchs were covenanted with the same grace as that described through the work of Christ in the NT. Hence, in light of this context, I have chosen to abbreviate the quotation with the phrase "by grace". See Institutes, II.10. 1-5; McNeill's ed., 428-432.

⁵⁷ The comment concerning a "general" covenant was given in II.10.1 of Calvin's Institutes. However, in II.10.4, Calvin mentions the "covenant of the Gospel" which is synonymous with "the covenant of grace". He states: "Who, then, dares to separate the Jews from Christ, since with them, we hear, was made the covenant of the gospel, the sole foundation of which is Christ? ...'Abraham rejoiced that he was to see my day; he saw it and was glad' [John 8:56]. And what Christ there testified concerning Abraham, the apostle shows to have been universal among the believing folk when he says: 'Christ remains, yesterday and today and forever' [Heb. 13:8]." (McNeill, 431) Furthermore, this "absence" of any direct reference to the covenant of grace, until the mentioning of Abraham, is evident in Calvin's Commentary on Genesis as well. As Anthony Hoekema writes: "Though Calvin admits that Adam, along with all others adopted by God into the company of his people since the beginning of the world, was covenanted to God, it is in his discussion of Abraham that Calvin first mentions the covenant of grace... in his Commentary on Genesis. In his comment on Gen. 12:1 he makes the point that it was due to God's free mercy that the covenant of life was placed in Abraham's possession, adding that Abraham is here an example of the calling of us all." Anthony A. Hoekema, "The Covenant of Grace in Calvin's Teaching," Calvin Theological Journal 2, no. 2 (November, 1967): 140-141. In this quotation from Hoekema, one finds the phrase "the covenant of life" synonymous with "the covenant of grace".

⁵⁸ When speaking of the covenant in light of the Old and New Testaments, Calvin states: The covenant made with all the patriarchs is so much like ours in substance and reality that the two are actually one and the same. Yet they differ in the mode of dispensation." II.10.2; McNeill, 429.

grace⁵⁹ is divided into three "main changes," or dispensations: (1) the divine economy under the revealed promises -- from Adam to Moses; (2) the divine economy under the service of the law -- from Moses to Christ; and (3) the divine economy under the service of the Gospel -- from Christ up to the end of the world.⁶⁰ Lampe then describes seven smaller divisions as being within these three major dispensations.⁶¹ Furthermore, Lampe understood the three dispensations of the covenant of grace as being encompassed by two larger categories: the time before Christ, and the time after Christ.⁶² Thus, when this is considered, Lampe, like Calvin, really understood the

⁵⁹ The reader should take note that the covenant of grace has, at times, been spoken of as the eternal covenant stemming from the pre-temporal deliberation within the Trinity. At other times, it has been spoken of as the second covenant between God and humanity after the fall (as with Lampe), or as the divine-human covenant established with Abraham (as with Calvin). Since both understandings of the covenant will become more and more involved in our discussion, it is important to fix a way in which to distinguish both meanings. Hence, from here on out, to keep from confusion, when speaking of the eternal covenant, or the whole system of grace as stemming from the Trinity, the phrase "*the eternal covenant of grace*" shall be used; and when speaking of the divine-human covenant, as established after the fall, the phrase "*the covenant of grace*" shall be used.

⁶⁰ Strehle, 363. Also see *Geheimnis*, II, 223 ff. Lampe defines "main changes" and "petty changes" in the following way: "We name the 'main changes'... as those through which the whole outer form of the Church, in its confession, teaching and outer worship... change. Likewise,... we observe certain 'petty changes' in the Word of God within the same time frame. Form remains,... [and] they have sometimes shown themselves clearly and at other times obscurely." (*Geheimnis*, II, 207-208.) The reader should also recall from Part I of this study that Lampe organized his *Geheimnis* under the three dispensations here. The first volume of the *Geheimnis* serves as Lampe's general introduction. The second volume is classified under the "economy of the promise;" the two parts of the third volume (which I have called volumes 3 and 4) are classified under the "economy of the law;" and the two parts of the fourth volume (which I have called volumes 5 and 6) are under the "economy of the gospel." This three-fold arrangement is often called the three economies of *ante legem* (before the law), *sub lege* (under the law), and *post legem* (after the law) or *sub Evangelio* (under the Gospel). This form of salvation history division stems from Irenaeus. (See: Möller, 394-395, and 403-404.)

⁶¹ Strehle suggests that Lampe's "petty changes" include the seven stages of world history, and therefore, the seven stages of New Testament history as well. Strehle says: "Although the sevenfold paradigm of history is mentioned, Lampe emphasizes particularly three *Haupt-Veränderungen* in his analysis." (Strehle, 363.) However, it seems to be incorrect in suggesting that Lampe placed more emphasis on his three "main changes" than on his sevenfold division of history; for Lampe himself called his seven divisions "*Haupt-Veränderungen*" (See: *Geheimnis*, II, 159-160.). It seems more appropriate to view Lampe's three and sevenfold systems as the same thing described differently. The threefold system, as stated in footnote #60 above, stems from Irenaeus, and follows a numerical division based on a parallel to the number of persons in the Trinity. The sevenfold system is given its number from the days involved in creation (See: *Geheimnis*, II, 159-160.). "Petty changes" should be considered as such things as changes in geographic location (i.e., the national advancement of the Church in the Middle Ages), or the use of different technologies (i.e., the printing press, the radio, etc.); for though these things may lead to, or be involved in, major changes, or dispensations of the history of the Church, they, in and of themselves, are "petty" items in consideration of the whole.

⁶² Lampe states: "First the two main changes can be set up [as] the one coming before Christ and the other after Christ." *Geheimnis*, II, 208-209. Brackets mine.

covenant of grace as divided primarily by the Old and New Testament dispensations. At this point, the main difference then, between Lampe and Calvin's understanding of the covenant of grace, is that Calvin does not directly claim a covenant of works. However, it will be shown later that Calvin's understanding of humanity prior to the fall does suggest this doctrine.⁶³

So far, we have comparatively observed Calvin's view on the existence of a pre-temporal covenant and his understanding of its design within temporality. However, our comparison with Calvin is still incomplete; for to fully "locate" Lampe in respect to him, we must investigate the concepts of progression, reciprocity and the understanding of the roles of each covenant partner as found within Calvin's writings.

First, with Calvin there is no developed thought on a concept of progression, as initiated within the deliberations among the persons of the Trinity in establishing the eternal covenant; and second, there is no strict observation of natural models within Calvin that suggests a developed concept of "revelatory reciprocity". However, these statements need to be qualified. For it is true that Calvin did not have a developed covenantal natural theology, where nature bears evidence of some concept of progression that originates as an internal idea within the Trinity, but he did understand nature as bearing witness to God (even though that witness is inadequate because of sin). In fact, Calvin understood nature giving witness to the knowledge of God on two counts. First, there is a knowledge of God through an inward knowledge of ourselves; as Calvin states:

Thus, from the feeling of our own ignorance, vanity, poverty, infirmity, and -- what is more -- depravity and corruption, we recognize that the true light of wisdom, sound virtue, full abundance of every good, and purity of righteousness rest in the Lord alone.... Accordingly, the knowledge of ourselves not only arouses us to seek God, but also, as it were, leads us by the hand to find him.⁶⁴

⁶³ Hoekema states: "It must, of course, be remembered that one does not find in Calvin some of the later elaborations of the covenant idea. For example, Calvin does not teach the doctrine of the covenant of works. This was a later development in the so-called federal theology -- though we may agree with Abraham Kuyper that the spiritual truths underlying this doctrine are found in Calvin: the representative character of Adam, the guilt and depravity of man resulting from Adam's fall, and so on." Hoekema, "The Covenant of Grace in Calvin's Teaching," 133.

⁶⁴ Institutes, I.1.1; McNeill's ed., 36-37. Also see Institutes, I.3

Second, nature gives witness to God through its splendor and organization:

You cannot in one glance survey this most vast and beautiful system of the universe, in its wide expanse, without being completely overwhelmed by the boundless force of its brightness. The reason why the author of *The Letter to the Hebrews* elegantly calls the universe the appearance of things invisible [Heb. 11:3] is that this skillful ordering of the universe is for us a sort of mirror in which we can contemplate God, who is otherwise invisible.⁶⁵

Even though this statement does not claim that the natural progression in creation bears witness to the progression of the pre-temporal covenant plan, it does provide the foundation for such a claim to be made by Lampe. Furthermore, though not explicitly stated, there is no doubt that Calvin's two ways of natural revelation (i.e., an inward knowledge of ourselves and an outward observation of nature) support a concept of "revelatory reciprocity" between creation and creator. Hence, the root to these key aspects (i.e., progression and reciprocity) in Lampe's first "essential" is present, but not expounded in Calvin.

The second remaining "item" to be reviewed in completing our comparison of Lampe's first "essential" with Calvin, is the latter's consideration of the roles of God within the covenant of redemption. First, when speaking of the internal pre-temporal actions of the Trinity, and this is rare for Calvin, he speaks of God the Father as more of an "appointer" than of an "initiator". Accordingly, Calvin sees the Son more as voluntarily following the command of the Father, than as voluntarily agreeing as a co-equal to be sent for the task. As Paul Helm states:

For while [Calvin] stresses the complete cooperation between the Father and the Son he often lays emphasis on the Son coming to redeem at the command of the Father rather than, as with developed covenant theology, the Father and the Son agreeing as co-equals. Secondly, Calvin emphasizes the actual, historical obedience of the Son to the Father rather than the eternal plan of co-operation, though he does not deny the plan.⁶⁶

At this point, one should note that Lampe, of course, also understood the Son as voluntarily obeying the command of the Father. In fact this is strongly implied when he states that

⁶⁵ *Institutes*, I.5.1; McNeill's ed., 52-53. Also see the remainder of I.5.

⁶⁶ Helm, 70. Brackets mine.

two persons in the Trinity (the Father and the Spirit) demand a satisfaction and one other (the Son) is dedicated to the task.⁶⁷ Yet at the same time, in respect to his definition of "covenant" (i.e., a contract between two parties),⁶⁸ and in following the tradition of Federal theology, Lampe understood the Son as a co-equal covenant partner within the Trinity as well. It appears that Lampe simply emphasized the latter view over the former.

Calvin also understands the role of the Son within the eternal covenant of grace, as being the "bestower" of life, or the redemption of the chosen.⁶⁹ Moreover, Christ fulfills this mission through the Prophetic, Priestly, and Kingly offices. The Prophetic office corresponds to the teaching and example of Christ. The Priestly office corresponds to his "passive obedience" and sacrifice; and the Kingly office relates to Christ's resurrection, ascension and intercession.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See footnote #16 above.

⁶⁸ See footnote #35 above.

⁶⁹ Calvin states: "Christ does not say that he has been made governor over the whole world, in order to bestow life on all without distinction; but he limits this grace to those who have been given to him.... [It] is only the elect who belong to his peculiar flock, which he has undertaken to guard as a shepherd." Brackets mine. An excerpt from Calvin's Commentary on John; cited by Helm. See: Helm, 69.

⁷⁰ It is important to note that these offices are not meant to departmentalize the work of Christ into non-connected functions, rather they serve as a way to distinguish the primary emphasis of a unified soteriology for Calvin.

The Prophetic office can be classified as Christ's active obedience, as opposed to the cross which has been traditionally called the passive obedience of Christ. [For definitions and a systematic understanding to the active and passive obedience of Christ, see: Thomas C. Oden, The Word of Life, vol. 2 of Systematic Theology (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1992), 279-343.] The Prophetic office consisted not only of Jesus' earthly ministry, of teaching, preaching and healing, in and of itself, but in a "larger" way, this office was a fulfillment of all prophetic wisdom. As Calvin states: "And the prophetic dignity in Christ leads us to know that in the sum of doctrine as he has given it to us all parts of perfect wisdom are contained." (Institutes, II.15.2; McNeill's ed., 496.) In other words, the "first" work of the office of the Mediator was to fulfill all that had been promised up to that point and to offer proof of all that was to be promised in the future. This is valuable to our reconciliation; for if the Word was not ratified, then what trust could there have been in Christ? Hence, in short, through the teaching and prophetic fulfillment of Christ, or through his Prophetic office, scripture came alive.

The second office is that of Priest. Calvin recalls the ceremonial practices of the Old Testament to explain how Christ rightly fills this role. He states: "Let us notice what is contained in the law: when God commanded the people to pray to Him, He forthwith showed them in what manner they should perform this service; which was this; the people were to stand afar off in the court of the temple; neither the King nor any other one, except the priest, was allowed to approach the sanctuary, for he was the figure of our Lord Jesus Christ.... [The] high priest entering into the sanctuary, carried with him the blood of the sacrifice which he had offered; by which we may understand that no man can find favor with God." [John Calvin, A Selection of the Most Celebrated Sermons of John Calvin, ed. John Forbes (New York: S. & D. A. Forbes, 1830); reprinted as The Mystery of Godliness and Other Selected Sermons (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1950), 201.] "Thus Christ to perform this office had to come forward with a sacrifice." (Institutes, II.15.6; McNeill's ed., 501.) Jesus himself was this sacrifice. Therefore, in Christ we have both our Mediator and our Atoning Blood. Jesus took our penalty for our injustice

Correspondingly, Calvin understands the Spirit as mediating the "three-office" work of Christ to the believer.⁷¹

In his understanding of the role of the Son within the eternal covenant, Lampe followed Calvin's orthodoxy. As stated earlier, Lampe understood the Son as the Guarantor and Angel of

toward God. What God's justice required was met by what God's love provided on the cross. This is truly the greatest mystery of all to Calvin (and so to for Lampe). Christ the priest was able to bring humankind into the presence of the Father.

Calvin also understood the burial and descent of Christ as continuances of the Mediatorial function. For Calvin, the death of Christ brings forth two blessings for the elect. The first blessing is the liberation from temporal and eternal death, since Christ did not remain dead. Secondly, there is the "mortification of our flesh." (*Institutes*, II.16.7; McNeill's ed., 512.) Leaning on Paul (Gal. 2:19, 6:14, and Col. 3:3), Calvin states that within the death of Christ one may find power over the "old man". simply put, the "old man" implies that when one is reborn in Christ his or her new life resurrects with Christ, and the old is left buried.

Calvin placed the descent at the end of Christ's humiliation. To state this might appear obvious, or insubstantial, but for Calvin, the position of the descent within the whole soteriological scheme was of extreme importance. He recognized it not only in the traditional view, which claims that Jesus went to the believers who died before his incarnation, but he also understood it as the ultimate expression of the spiritual torment that Jesus suffered on our behalf. Calvin states: "Christ was put in place of evildoers as surety and pledge -- submitting himself even as the accused -- to bear and suffer all the punishments they ought to have sustained." (*Institutes*, II.16.10; McNeill's ed., 515.)

Regarding the Kingly office, Calvin was an orthodox Trinitarian, and therefore, did not think of the Resurrection and Ascension as events making Christ the King, but rather as events inaugurating his kingdom. As J. F. Jansen states: "Calvin does not attempt to fix any time in the life of Christ when He began to reign, for the kingdom comes in Him. He is King -- He does not become King." [John Frederick Jansen, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Work of Christ* (London: James Clark, 1956), 86.]

Calvin states that there are three benefits from the Resurrection given to the believer. First, the example of the risen Lord invites us to strive after newness of life. Second, we are "reborn into righteousness through his power." (*Institutes*, II.16.13; McNeill, 520.) Finally, we are "assured of our own resurrection by receiving a sort of guarantee substantiated by his." (*Institutes*, II.16.13; McNeill's ed., 520.)

In Christ's session as Advocate, there is a continuance of the Prophetic, Priestly and Regal offices simultaneously. The Prophetic office is transferred to His ministers on earth, and the other two are eternally held within himself. In light of this, Calvin states: "Jesus Christ is not only called mediator because He hath made reconciliation by his death, but because He appeareth now before the majesty of God that we through Him may be heard." (Calvin, *The Mystery of Godliness*, 203.) We now have an advocate before the Throne, so that we may correspond with heaven.

⁷¹ The Spirit mediates Christ's Prophetic office by opening our minds and giving us spiritual insight. As Calvin states: "Consequently, he may rightly be called the key that unlocks for us the treasures of the Kingdom of Heaven...; and illumination, the keenness of our insight." (*Institutes*, III.1.4; McNeill's ed., 542.) The Spirit mediates Christ's Priestly work by producing faith in his Gospel. As Calvin writes: "We have said that perfect salvation is found in the person of Christ. Accordingly, that we may become partakers of it 'he baptizes us in the Holy Spirit and fire' [Luke 3:16], bringing us into the light of faith in his gospel and so regenerating us that we become new creatures...." (*Ibid.*) At last, the Holy Spirit mediates the Kingly office by bearing witness to our spirit of his continual intercession for us. Calvin, in quoting Augustine, states: "'For his spiritual presence with them was to come after his ascension.' ...Therefore, we always have Christ according to the presence of majesty." (*Institutes*, II.16.14; McNeill's ed., 523.) And the "presence of majesty" is communicated by the Holy Spirit. Hence, the Spirit communicates and/or mediates the Kingly office.

the covenant,⁷² and, interestingly, Calvin used this language in his description of the Son as well, but with a slightly different emphasis. Lampe understood the entire life and work of Christ, both his "active" and "passive" obedience, as being the guarantor of the divine-human covenant -- for the sending of Christ was the Fathers promised terms. For Calvin, the designation of Christ as guarantor does not rest so much in the light of his entire life, as it does in the Resurrection itself. And the Resurrection does not so much guarantee the promised covenant, as it does the general resurrection at the culmination of history. As Calvin States:

We are assured of our own resurrection by receiving a sort of guarantee substantiated by his.⁷³

Now, in light of Lampe's idea of covenant progression, the final resurrection is understood as the consummate fulfillment of the covenant terms between God and humanity. Therefore, Lampe and Calvin are, in actuality, saying the same thing -- that Christ is the guarantor of the eternal covenant of grace.

Lampe also followed Calvin's orthodoxy in keeping with the "three-office" motif of soteriology, and in comprehending the Spirit as the mediator between these offices and the believer.⁷⁴ However, Lampe puts an unusual emphasis on the Prophetic office of Christ.⁷⁵ This emphasis has two characteristics. First, in keeping with Calvin, Lampe understood Christ's Prophetic office as the containment of all prophetic wisdom.⁷⁶ This understanding in turn, fits

⁷² See footnote #42 above.

⁷³ Institutes, II.16.13; McNeill's ed., 522.

⁷⁴ See the previous discussion concerning Lampe's understanding of the mediation of the Spirit. In particular, see footnote #47 above.

⁷⁵ Lampe dedicates an entire chapter to the emphases of the Prophetic office of Christ. See chapter 5 of volume 5, "Concerning the Perfect Example of True Virtue, Which is Given in the History of Our Savior." Also Steven O'Malley points out Lampe's emphasis on the Prophetic office in his book Pilgrimage of Faith. See: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 69.

⁷⁶ As Calvin states: "And the prophetic dignity in Christ leads us to know that in the sum of doctrine as he has given it to us all parts of perfect wisdom are contained." Institutes, II.15.2; McNeill's ed., 496. Also see footnote #71 above.

perfectly into Lampe's use of the Cocceian/Vitringaen "prophetic-symbolic" exegetical method.⁷⁷

One can observe this through the following equation: (1) For Calvin, all knowledge rests in Christ as revealed through scripture (i.e., prophetic wisdom). (2) For Cocceius and Vitringa, all knowledge rests in Christ and all appropriate knowledge of history⁷⁸ is found in prophecy.

Hence, (1 + 2) equals (3) -- Lampe's understanding that the knowledge of scripture and history is found in Christ.⁷⁹ As Lampe states:

God allowed a great number of prophecies and forshadowings to go before, through which the person and all the encounters of the future savior were clearly made known, so that in his actual appearing in the flesh he could be known with a fuller certainty of faith as the promised savior of the world.⁸⁰

Then he says:

⁷⁷ See discussions in Part II of this study. Specifically, for the "prophetic-symbolic" method in respect to the eschatological dynamic of the Heidelberg Catechism, and for a brief background on Campegius Vitringa, see pages 71-73. For the "prophetic-symbolic" method in respect to the Cocceian/Lampean covenant approach to history, see pages 79-83. Also see: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 61-68.

⁷⁸ "Appropriate knowledge" means any knowledge of history that is essential to the cosmic progression of salvation history. However, one might ask: "What knowledge of history is essential?" To address this, it is best to begin with an arbitrary "case-study". So for example; it is not suggested in OT prophecy that the "M&M" candy would be created, because "M&M's" do not relate in any significant way to the salvation plan of God. However, one might argue that the smallest event in history can still have major historical repercussions, and therefore, "M&M's", though not directly prophesied about, can not be ruled out of the possibility of playing a major role in the cosmic plan of things.

Lampe would not argue against the fact that a small event, such as the making of "M&M" candy could lead to a large salvation history effect. Moreover, he would probably suggest that any large repercussion of "M&M's" would be that most likely pointed to in prophecy. In saying this, Lampe would claim the authority of the past. For in the past, major shifts to another dispensation have been clearly marked by God. For example, no one doubts that there was a time of promise and a time of taking the promised land, and that this transition to one from the other was a major shift. Major events, such as the taking of the promise land, and their directly related smaller events, were the ones marked by many prophecies as to make the reality of such a shift that much more clear (Lampe clearly uses this logic when speaking of Christ. See: Geheimnis, II, 134-135.) Hence, for the future, the same principle is in operation -- prophecy will point toward major, not minor, dispensational shifts. Yet, the individual believer, with the help of the Holy Spirit, must discern if smaller events are setting up the next major shift. As Lampe writes: "To discern the wisdom in God's ways, various small and large changes must be distinguished." (Geheimnis, II, 207.) Hence, for Lampe the phrase, "all appropriate knowledge of history," means the necessary, or essential, knowledge needed to point out major events or shifts within history.

⁷⁹ See this paper's discussion on pages 79-83.

⁸⁰ Geheimnis, II, 134-135.

The oldest histories of the Church also had a relationship to Christ; mainly because they made known the circumstances of his coming. One discovers from them that the Messiah was born in the right time, place, and from the right family....⁸¹

From these quotations, one can easily see that Lampe understood past prophecies and recorded history as having Christ as their content. Is there any reason to believe that he understood future history and unfulfilled prophecy as not having Christ as their content? No, for Lampe clearly sees future history and unfulfilled prophecy as "the rest of the story." For example, Lampe expresses the "cross-over" from past to future when speaking of the prophecy of Enoch, he states:

His coming [the Lord's]... is spoken in the past tense, because the preparations for his coming are included in the prophecy.... The prophecy of Enoch serves to scare followers of the antichrist, to comfort believers, and as a warning to those who are Christians in name only.... Many people in our time are similar to those who lived in the time of Enoch, and will await the same judgment.⁸²

Hence, from all of this one can see that Lampe put an instructional emphasis on the Prophetic office of Christ. For first, in being the containment, or content, of all prophetic wisdom, Christ teaches us of himself, and of his present and future kingdom, through prophecy and history; and second, we are instructed to trust that future history and unfulfilled prophecy will complete their course on the basis that scriptural promises concerning Christ in the past have been kept.

The second characteristic of Lampe's emphasis on the Prophetic office of Christ is partially revealed in the last quotation given above. Lampe says, in this particular case, that the prophecy is to "scare", "comfort", and "warn". Furthermore, Lampe, within the context of the same discussion (i.e., concerning the instruction through prophecy and history) states:

In response to such news one must see the benevolence of God, put Christ in the center of faith, and cross over into his family.⁸³

⁸¹ *Geheimnis*, II, 256-258.

⁸² *Ibid.*, II, 547, 559-561. Brackets mine.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, II, 267-268.

Thus, for Lampe, the efficacy of the prophetic office not only rests in instruction but in "affecting" the believer as well. This is further substantiated when Lampe writes:

The history of our Savior hands over a beautiful example whereby the new man is built not by God alone, but every believer must also be diligent to promote the growth and completion of salvation in himself; such is without all doubt.⁸⁴

The citation just given takes us right back to Lampe's rudimentary principles of covenant partnership and progression. Here we have the progression of history witnessing to the fact that an individual has a responsibility to progress similarly, or "build" one's life in the salvation provided by Jesus Christ. Hence, for Lampe, the Prophetic and Priestly offices of Christ are to be appropriated by the individual within the framework of progression. Furthermore, in considering Lampe's understanding of "revelatory reciprocity," one could say that as history provides a witness to grace for an individual; so an individual, when appropriating grace, provides a witness to the workings of Christ in history.⁸⁵ (More will be said concerning this parallel revelation at a later point.)

In summary, from our comparison with Calvin, the following points can be added to the ten factors that comprise Lampe's first "essential" in his understanding of the system of grace:⁸⁶ (1) Calvin did not stress a pre-temporal covenant or the idea of its progressive temporal actualization. (2) Lampe not only divided the eternal covenant of grace into two divine-human parts (i.e., the covenant of works and the covenant of grace), but also divided the latter half into two or three dispensations. If one holds to the former scheme, the covenant of grace is broken down into a similar pattern to that of Calvin, being primarily the division of the Old and New Testaments. If one holds to the three-fold scheme, the covenant of grace is broken down into the divine economies of Adam to Moses, Moses to Christ, and Christ up to the end of the world. This dispensationalism is in response to, and contributes to, Lampe's understanding of covenant

⁸⁴ Lampe as cited by O'Malley. See: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 69.

⁸⁵ Note how this was mentioned in the discussion surrounding footnotes #49 and 50 above.

⁸⁶ See page 138 above.

progression. (3) Lampe differed with Calvin by seeing the covenant of grace as being "officially" established at the fall, rather than at the time of God's promise to Abraham. (4) Lampe understood the role of the Son as being both "appointee" and co-equal partner. The tension between these two roles parallels the tension between humanity as a co-equal partner and humanity as the recipient of election. Thus, as stated earlier,⁸⁷ tension is a significant part of Lampe's understanding. In fact, in light of his view of the Son, tension can be considered as a pre-temporal design within the system of grace. Finally, (5) Lampe placed an unusual emphasis on the Prophetic office of Jesus Christ. This added stress involved perceiving scripture (or prophecies) and history as 'instructing' and 'affecting' the believer to progress within the salvation provided for them; and this progression in turn, would witness back to history.

A Comparative Analysis with Johannes Cocceius -- Part One

In Part II it was stated that some scholars consider Lampe as the best exponent of Cocceian thought;⁸⁸ and it was upon such claims that the five Cocceian "approaches" to theology were presented as belonging to Lampe as well. In addition to the provision of secondary sources claiming the link between Lampe and Cocceius, there have also been a few cross-references between Lampe's positions, as given so far in this section, and those Cocceian approaches given earlier.⁸⁹ Thus, the fact that Lampe was Cocceian has been clearly stated, and partially demonstrated. Yet to further demonstrate how Lampe was Cocceian in his thinking, and to finish our "calibration" of Lampe's understanding of the system of grace in respect to traditional Calvinism and later Covenant Calvinism, we now turn to briefly compare Lampe's first "essential" with Cocceius.

⁸⁷ See page 138 above.

⁸⁸ See chapter IV, footnote #23.

⁸⁹ See various references to Cocceius in the footnotes given in this section of the paper so far.

Cocceius plainly believed in the existence of a pre-temporal covenant within the Trinity. Moreover, he understood that the pre-temporal covenant is the design pattern of the covenant that is later temporally established with humanity. As Charles McCoy points out:

Cocceius sets forth the doctrine of the Trinity in such fashion as to introduce... the covenant notion into certain aspects of the Godhead. This is true, on the one hand, of the relations of the Persons of the Trinity to one another, and, on the other hand, of the relations of the Trinity to man.⁹⁰

McCoy then explains Cocceius' "covenant notion", in respect to the pre-temporal covenant of redemption, when he writes:

In this pact, the will of the Father is given to the Son as a command to be the Redeemer and Head of the people of God, and the Son pledges Himself to procure the salvation of the elect in accordance with this covenant.⁹¹

Furthermore, McCoy adds:

The covenant also has relevance to the external roles of the Persons of the Trinity with reference to man. The Father performs the function of lawgiver, through the covenants of works and grace. The Son shows forth the mercy of God by assuming flesh, taking upon himself the sin of man, and carrying out the Divine purposes of redemption through the covenant. The Holy Spirit shows forth the power of God in our regeneration, and the love of God in uniting us with Christ as heirs through Him of the covenant of grace. Yet, Cocceius implies, the functions of the Persons of the Trinity cannot be separated. While there is threeness in the operation of God, there is also unity throughout.... The unity of the Trinity, it may be inferred, is a covenant unity, through which the Persons are completely united even though distinct.⁹²

Then McCoy expounds on Cocceius' "covenant notion" as it relates to humanity:

In the same way that the doctrine of God is largely shaped by the doctrine of the covenant, so also is the Cocceian understanding of man given direction and

⁹⁰ McCoy, 254-255.

⁹¹ Ibid. Also see: Johannes Cocceius, "*Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei with Praefatio*," chap. IV, para. 88 (hereafter cited as *Foed*) in Johannes Cocceius, *Opera Omnia Theologia, Exegetica, Didactica, Polemica, Philologica* 3rd ed. 10 vols. folio. (Amsterdam: P. and J. Blaev, 1701), vol. 7. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa theologiae ex scripturis repetita with Praefatio*," chap. XIII, para. 32 (hereafter cited as *Summa Theo*) in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 7.

⁹² Ibid., 256. Also see: Cocceius, "*Foed*," IV, 88.

content by his conception of covenant. Through his notion of covenant Cocceius maintains a strong doctrine of God's sovereignty, yet affirms also that man is responsible before God for his decisions....⁹³

From these statements then, one can immediately see that Cocceius preceded Lampe in: (1) claiming the doctrine of a pre-temporal covenant of redemption; (2) comprehending the Trinity within that covenant;⁹⁴ (3) understanding the divine-human covenant as flowing from the pre-temporal Trinitarian one; (4) understanding the Father as the initiator; and, (5) holding to a tension between the roles of the Son as "appointee" and co-equal partner.

In considering the last point, Cocceius is presented by McCoy as seeing the Son as receiving a command from the Father, hence the Son is the "appointee". However, the Son is also seen as "pledging," or promising; hence, the Son is a co-equal partner. The act of promising suggests an equal status; for if the Son was not an equal, why promise something; for what weight would it have? Perhaps to suggest such an argument for the status of the Son within the Godhead is ludicrous, for all three persons in the Godhead are one. However, the importance of Christ as equal partner, with emphasis on his role rather than his nature, is of central importance both to Cocceius and Lampe. For without a proper understanding of the Son in respect to his eternal role and tension, two things would happen: First, the whole construct of covenant would fall apart, and the plan of salvation would vanish;⁹⁵ and second, the proper identity of tension within humanity would not be understood. For (6) Cocceius preceded Lampe in holding to the tension between the Son as recipient and participant of the pre-temporal covenant, and in seeing humanity as recipient and participant of the temporal implementation of that covenant as well.

⁹³ McCoy, 256-257. Also see: Cocceius, "*Foed*," IV, 88.

⁹⁴ Lampe clearly states his emphasis on comprehending the Trinity in light of the eternal covenant, when he writes: "We do not endeavor to contemplate God so much in his nature, as in those relationships, which he conceives in the covenant of grace." See: *Geheimnis*, I, 54.

⁹⁵ As Lampe states: "But it serves for a warning: that this order [the order of relationships within the Trinity] must not be understood as if one minority [*Minderheit*] in the highest perfection could take key position, for this would devastate the idea of the deity all at once. But, however one desires to understand, God must be understood in a proper manner. It is certain that the type of work, which the triune God (as God as the covenant) divided among himself, completely required such an order." *Ibid*.

It is also observable from the earlier quotations from McCoy, that Lampe and Cocceius placed similar emphases on the roles of the "first party". The Father is expressed as the "law-giver" within the covenants. This corresponds to Lampe's description of the Father as the "initiator" and "appointer" of the terms of the eternal covenant. The Son is described by Cocceius as "carrying out the divine purposes of redemption." This corresponds to the Lampean description of the son as the "Guarantor" and "Angel of the Covenant." Furthermore, the Spirit is identified in the citations above as "uniting us with Christ." This too corresponds to Lampe's description of the Spirit as the one who "mediates the fellowship of sinners with the reconciling Son and the reconciled Father."

So far our comparison between Lampe and Cocceius has shown their general agreement in the doctrine of a pre-temporal covenant and the subsequent roles necessary for each person within the Trinity, who is the "first party" within the divine-human covenant. However, to complete our comparison, we still need to compare Lampe's understanding of covenant progression and "revelatory reciprocity" with Cocceius. Yet in order to do this properly, we must observe three essential items that Cocceius brings to Lampe's theological framework. These items are Cocceius' understanding of scriptural revelation, time, and the significance of God's act of creation within salvation history. Up to this point, these items have either only been briefly stated, or indirectly alluded to, but now they must be examined directly and in more detail. In examining these items, we will see how Cocceius' thought fits concisely into what has already been said about covenantal progression and "revelatory reciprocity" between natural and human covenants and the pre-temporal covenant plan of God. Furthermore, after these connections are made, and in turn, after Lampe is connected with the resulting relationships, we will subsequently synthesize all the data that has been presented thus far. This synthesis will serve as the conclusion to our investigation into Lampe's "first essential," and will serve as the foundation in which to examine his "second essential." With this said, we now turn to examine Cocceius' understanding of scriptural revelation and Lampe's relationship to that understanding.

A Comparative Analysis with Johannes Cocceius -- Part Two

In his seminal article entitled "*Föderalismus und Geschichtsbetrachtung im XVII. und XVIII Jahrhundert*" ("Federalism and the Contemplation of History in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries"), Grete Möller clearly identifies Cocceius' understanding of scriptural revelation, and gives evidence of how Cocceius "produced" concepts of progression (or development) and reciprocity through such an understanding. Moreover his article places Lampe in direct connection with these themes. Therefore, in considering that these themes represent crucial elements within Lampe's understanding of the system of grace, and since we are presently seeking a sound comparison with Cocceius' understanding of scriptural revelation, an extensive citation from Möller is provided.⁹⁶ Möller states:

He [Cocceius] agreed with the Lutheran teaching in the fact that Holy Scripture is adequate for the Church and that it must not be added to by new revelations or old traditions.... To this extent Cocceius is in agreement with the Lutheran teaching. However he... departs from it with *atque ut ita cognatam et connexam ad fundamentum adjungendo et ei inaedificando proficiat ad sapientiam et prudentiam salutarum*. With this, a new thought is inserted into the idea of inspiration, which decisively separates the theology of Cocceius from the Lutheran interpretation. According to this insight, it is possible to build further on the foundation given in scripture and to gain new decisive knowledge from the clear interpretation of scripture.

[Furthermore,] in the preface to the *Summa* Cocceius designates his own theological work, particularly the statement of his covenant theology, as a *superaedificare fundamento*. So certainly, revelation in the full sense, that being the Holy Scriptures, is placed before all else as complete. However, a growth of new knowledge is developed from its foundation.... A citation in F. A. Lampe's *Geheimnis des Gnadenbundes* indicates how the followers of Cocceius thought about [this] increasing knowledge and about their relationship with the foundation. 'Our opinion is unjustly accused as being an innovation. If it were new, then nothing of its truth would depart with it. Since new discoveries are still being made daily in nature, and since, after the invention of telescopes, which could carry our sight much farther, so many more stars are being seen daily in the sky; what wonder is it then that new discoveries are also taking place through the increasing diligence into the search of the godly Word? And what wonder is it then that the

⁹⁶ Taken from Möller, 398, 399, 400, 403, 404-405. Brackets mine.

promised growth in knowledge in the last times (Dan. 12:4, Ezek. 47:4) always increases more and more until it finally becomes fulfilled?...⁹⁷

[This] foundational thinking [(i.e., that scripture, though complete, offers increasing knowledge, or revelation)] can be used for the illustration of uniformity. Although, it also contains further possibilities, since it expounds a concept of succession. The uniformity arises out of the provision that Christ is the foundation. The succession arises out of the identification of the fundamental truths in the content of covenantal thought: (1) A distinction of economies arises out of different historical dispensations of the covenant of grace; this is especially clear with the division of *ante legem*, *sub legem*, and *sub Evangelio*.⁹⁸ (2) Corresponding to the growing revelation, knowledge and faith progress within the covenant of grace.

[In light of all of this, the] relation of revelation and development is now a similar equation, with which both sides can be substituted. On the one hand; revelation = development is valid, namely in the sense, that scripture, as the whole of revelation, shows one development and one history. On the other hand, development = revelation; ...is valid in a double relationship: (a) in so far as the growth of Christian knowledge derives and develops itself from the existing revelation in scripture, (b) in so far as the development to be observed in history is looked at as the fulfillment of revelation.⁹⁹ In both cases, the idea of development is one obtained and derived from revelation -- [in the case of 'a'], because revelation is looked at as the foundation of all further research; [and in the case of 'b'], because the principle of development observed in revelation is interpreted in history, and therefore, used in history.

From the above citation, one sees four things: (1) The full system of grace, or the full plan of salvation, or the eternal covenant of grace, is contained within scripture; and nothing more needs to be added to it. Furthermore, in its completeness, the Word is uniformed -- for all things within it pertain to the whole of revelation and are founded in, and on, Christ. In other words, the parts of scripture make up its whole, and the whole is completely self-contained within the Canon, and the Canon is founded in and through Christ. (2) Even though the Word is complete, it is deep and vast enough in its riches that "new discoveries" can be continually made. Hence, the Word has a developing character within its complete self-containment. (3) The development of revelation in scripture translates to the development of revelation in history through the

⁹⁷ Taken from: *Geheimnis*, IV, 124. Part of this citation is also provided in footnote #31 above.

⁹⁸ See footnote #60 above.

⁹⁹ See the related discussion on pages 79-84 above.

perception of seeing history as the fulfillment, or actualization of the revelation "discovered" in scripture. And (4), this "translation" of development from scripture to history is reciprocal. This is evident through the two "truths in the content of covenantal thought." First, the economies, or dispensations, in history are revealed in scripture; thus, scripture speaks to history, and history speaks to scripture. Second, as further discoveries are made in scripture, there is an increase in knowledge and in faith, which becomes increasingly evident in the movement of the covenant of grace in history. Thus, again history speaks to scripture and scripture speaks to history. In holding all this in thought, one must recall that Möller clearly exhibited how Lampe followed Cocceius in this understanding of scriptural revelation. Furthermore, one must also recall that Lampe, as well as Cocceius, saw all revelation as pointing back to, or stemming from, the pre-temporal covenant between the members of the Trinity. Therefore, the full "equation" that we have here is this: scripture points to the pre-temporal eternal covenant and to history; and history points to scripture and the pre-temporal eternal covenant as well. Another way to put this "equation" would be to say that the "containment," or "uniformity," of scripture points to the "containment" of the pre-temporal covenant and to the "containment" of history; and the developmental aspect of scripture points to a developmental aspect in the pre-temporal covenant and history as well. These are interesting parallels, but what connects them to one another? Ultimately one could answer with: the "Holy Spirit", or the "Spirit of God"; or even more ultimately, the "inspiration of God". Though correct, such answers miss pointing out the wonderful "mechanisms" that are divinely designed to connect the "parallels" just mentioned. Cocceius and Lampe understood such "mechanisms" to be time and prophecy.

It was shown earlier, that Lampe understood a temporal reality as existing within the pre-temporal covenant plan; and that this was evident through the developmental aspects within nature and human covenant models provided within temporal reality. In other words, what was expressed earlier was simply that Lampe saw temporality, or time, as being an integral part of the pre-temporal covenant plan. Though not directly stated, it has been made apparent through our discussion of Lampe's "first essential" that time was an integral part of the pre-temporal covenant

because it was the intended "mechanism" in which to carry the pre-temporal plan out among humanity. In other words, time has been implied to be the link between the pre-temporal plan and its temporal realization. Moreover, what has been expressed is that "God's activity takes place respectively with time, 'as time is fulfilled.'"¹⁰⁰ Lampe removes all doubt to his adherence to this understanding of time when he states:

In order to discern the wisdom in God's ways, various small and large changes must be distinguished.¹⁰¹ In scripture, many peculiar names are given to the changes in the church.... They are called times, days, hours, as well as courses in time, [and] ordered periods.... They are also named ways... advances, steps, or stairs.... Especially noteworthy is... household [or economy], which is used the most among the learned....¹⁰²

In holding to this view of time, Lampe is clearly following Cocceius. For according to Cocceius, time is the tool to actualize the pre-temporal plan.¹⁰³ In fact, when speaking of this relationship, Cocceius puts it this way: "What is last in execution is primary in intention."¹⁰⁴ In other words, what is executed in time, was intended in the single "moment" of the pre-temporal thought of God.

With all this said we find our earlier "equation" further defined. If time connects the pre-temporal covenant with the temporal actualization of that covenant, then time, in simpler terms, connects the pre-temporal plan with history. And history is nothing more than the recording of temporal events within the total elapse of time. Now, if time links the pre-eternal covenant to history, then, in keeping with our earlier "equation," time links the "containment" of the pre-temporal covenant with the "containment" of history; and the "progression," or "development" of the former with the "progression," or "development" of the latter as well. When we spoke of the

¹⁰⁰ Möller, 421.

¹⁰¹ *Geheimnis*, II, 207.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, II, 188-196; see column notes.

¹⁰³ See Möller, 419 ff.

¹⁰⁴ McCoy, 310.

"containment" of scripture, we meant that all revelation is fully set within it; and when we spoke of the "progression" of scripture, we meant that within its set parameters scripture was broad enough to continually allow for new insights. Now, parallel to this, the "containment" of the pre-temporal covenant is that it entirely takes place within the Trinity. In other words, the entire scope of the pre-temporal plan is contained within the triune God. However, the pre-temporal covenant is "progressive" in that it moves amongst the members of the Trinity. Hence, here Lampe's understanding of a temporal order within the Trinity comes to the fore. For by placing a temporal order, or sequence among the members of the Trinity, Lampe, as well as Cocceius, can more easily bring together all the aforementioned parallels and strengthen the pre-temporal covenant motif within their theology, as well as account for the significance of time and sequential order within nature and scriptural testimony.

Similar to all of this, history is "contained" and "progressive" as well. History is "contained" in that everything that has happened, and is going to happen, is known by God and is accounted for within his pre-temporal plan. Cocceius clearly understands this when he writes: "All things occur according to the purpose of God and nothing is apart from this purpose...."¹⁰⁵ Likewise, Lampe accepts that history is entirely contained within the will of God as well. This is substantiated by his Reformed orthodox adherence to the Heidelberg Catechism, which claims in its answer to its twenty-eighth question that all creatures cannot even move without God's will.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, in the chapter dedicated to eschatology within his Geheimnis,¹⁰⁷ Lampe implies that persons are to look forward and back in time to see the ways of God.¹⁰⁸ Hence, there is no doubt, in light of these two references, that Lampe understood history as being contained within

¹⁰⁵ Cited in: McCoy, 310. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa Theo*," XIV, 24.

¹⁰⁶ See The Heidelberg Catechism, (1563; reprint, Cleveland: United Church Press, 1963), 34. Also see Lampe's commentary on Questions #28 in: Lampe, Milch der Wahrheit, nach Anleitung des Heidelbergischen Catechismi, 92-103.

¹⁰⁷ This is chapter thirteen of book five (or book 4.2). The full translation of this chapter is given in Part IV of this paper.

¹⁰⁸ See: Geheimnis, V, 819. Also see paragraph I in the translation provided in Part IV of this paper.

the will of God as well. However, history is also "progressive" in that God's pre-temporal plan is actualized through the movement of time within it. Now, at this point, it is crucial that the reader not confuse time with history. Though both are tightly intertwined, they are still distinguishable entities. History is the recording of temporal events within the total elapse of time. So in a sense, God contains history, and history contains time. To understand fully this relationship, we must shift our attention from our discussion on time, and move to the third essential thing that Cocceius brings to Lampe's system of grace -- the involvement of creation.

Creation provides three things for the Cocceian/Lampean theological system. First, creation, of course, at the most rudimentary level, provides the substance for any temporal event. To put it simply; without creation there would be no temporal and spatial reality. God's act of creation is the initiatory act of the temporal actualization of the pre-temporal covenant. Creation is not necessary for God to be God, but it was necessary for the pre-temporal plan to be carried out. This basic concept is clearly communicated in Cocceius. He understood creation as the first part "in the execution of the divine decree,"¹⁰⁹ and as the act that "initiates the history of salvation."¹¹⁰ Lampe, of course, understands creation as being the temporal initiatory act of the pre-temporal covenant as well. In fact, he dedicates an entire chapter of his *Geheimnis* to present the True Church as the "subject of all the ways of God."¹¹¹ Then he dedicates a chapter to explain how creation was a model for all the changes to take place within the True Church.¹¹² Truly, such an approach could not be taken if creation was not understood in its most rudimentary way, which is to understand creation as being the initiatory act of the divine-human covenant plan of God.

¹⁰⁹ McCoy, 258. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa Theo*," XV, 1.

¹¹⁰ McCoy, 196.

¹¹¹ See chapter two of book one of Lampe's *Geheimnis*.

¹¹² See chapter five of book one of Lampe's *Geheimnis*.

The second thing that creation provides is an actual example of the covenant tension of "containment" and "development." When God created, he could have done so all in one moment. However, according to the scriptural account, God decided to create over time. Hence, on the one hand, there is "containment" -- in that God knew what he was going to create before he created it. Moreover, the entire course of creation can be considered as God's single act of constructing his pre-determined design. On the other hand there is "development," or "progression" -- in that there was a seven day temporal progression in that act of constructing.

Now, Cocceius did not present this view of creation directly, but as Möller points out, Cocceius definitely drew a parallel between temporal development in nature and redemption. According to Möller, Cocceius understood the development of creatures in nature as being paralleled by a chronological order in the plan of salvation.¹¹³ This thought is nothing more than a derivative of seeing the act of creation as modeling "containment" and "development." First, instead of looking at the act of creation itself, Cocceius simply looks at nature, as a whole, exhibiting the characteristic of "development," or "progression." Second, Cocceius sees epoch periods of development in the plan of salvation, and understands such epochs as parallel to seasons (and the like) in nature. Third, Cocceius may not claim the idea of "containment" in the act of creation, but he clearly understood all of nature and/or creation has having their beginning and end in God. Therefore, in light of these three points, Cocceius may not have directly said that the act of creation itself serves as a model for "containment" and "development," but he surely understood such a concept.

On the other hand, Lampe clearly saw creation as modeling the concept of "containment" and "development" for all the other "containment and development" parallels within his theological system. This has already been shown by the fact that Lampe dedicated an entire

¹¹³ See Möller, 420 ff. McCoy and Baker see this parallel in Cocceius as well. They state that Cocceius understood nature, history, and humanity as being created together in covenantal process. See McCoy and Baker, 78.

chapter in his *Geheimnis* to express this very fact.¹¹⁴ But for a particular piece of evidence, Lampe states:

The creation of the world was a model for all the main changes of the Church.
This can be proved with various reasons from scripture.¹¹⁵

One should recall that Lampe saw all the ways of God as pertaining to his self revelation through the building his True Church. Hence, to say that creation was a "model for all the main changes of the Church," is to say that it is a model for all the ways of God. Accordingly, Lampe builds up an entire system of parallels with the seven days of creation. Thus, for Lampe, world history, or the combined histories of the New and Old Testaments, or the history of the covenant of grace, has seven periods; the New Testament itself has seven periods; the life of Christ has seven periods; and there are seven steps in appropriating salvation.¹¹⁶ In light of this, and when considering salvation history, one sees that Lampe overlaps and interchanges his system of two divisions and three dispensations¹¹⁷ with his sevenfold division of history. Cocceius, on the other hand, primarily held to only a fourfold division in history. For him there was the covenant of works and the covenant of grace; and then under the latter, there was "the time of promise before Christ," and "the time of fulfillment in the Gospel."¹¹⁸ Though Cocceius and Lampe differ

¹¹⁴ See footnote #112 above.

¹¹⁵ *Geheimnis*, II, 159-160.

¹¹⁶ Schrenk suggests that with Lampe the number seven is "almost pushed beyond the Lord with poetic imagination." (See: Schrenk, 304.) The sevenfold divisions of salvation and history will be discussed later. The sevenfold division of Christ's life is as follows: (1) "Under the harsh rule of Herod, Christ was expected. John the Baptist prepared the way for him." (2) "Then he was born, circumcised and persecuted by Herod.... After Herod's death, Jesus moved to Nazareth during a time of peace." (3) After that he was introduced to his calling to teach. He... came to the festival in Jerusalem, and returned again to Galilee." (4) "He came to Jerusalem again, and tuned away toward Galilee. Then he prepared himself for his sufferings." (5) "The suffering started in the Garden, and was continued in the palace of the high priest. At that point he was given over to the Gentile governor and was condemned by him. On Golgatha the suffering of Christ was fulfilled." (6) "After the death of Christ, everything worked for his glory. He rose in power on the third day." (7) "After forty days, he was taken up into heaven." (See: *Geheimnis*, V, 24-71.)

¹¹⁷ See page 142 above.

¹¹⁸ McCoy, 177-178. Möller, however, says that Cocceius held to a twofold system which primarily corresponds to the Old and New Testaments; and that he subdivided the first with six "temporal signs" and the latter with seven. (See: Möller, 422.) Schrenk implies that Lampe, through Vitranga, received his sevenfold division of the New

somewhat in their divisions of history, the important thing to note here is that for both of them, creation bears witness to the fact that the pre-temporal covenant is to progress, not just through the "wave" of time, but through that "wave" in a sequence of fulfilled tasks. (It is on the basis of this shared theme, that this writer has attributed the "involvement" of creation as being passed down to Lampe from Cocceius.) God did not just implement time at creation, but he fulfilled certain tasks at certain periods. On the first day he created light, on the second day he made the sky, etc.. What this means for the temporal actualization of the pre-temporal covenant, is that God puts certain events with certain periods of time. Furthermore, God could have created in eight days, or in nine, etc.. But he decided to create in seven. Therefore, in the bigger picture of the entire system of parallels, this translates to mean that God has determined a set number of periods and events to complete the temporal actualization of the pre-temporal plan. Thus, the full number of allotted events and periods equals history. Time, on the other hand, equals that "mechanism" which connects and moves the particular events and periods along until their consummation. In light of all this, one can see why earlier it was said that history and time are not entirely the same thing; and why a look at the Cocceian/Lampean view of creation was needed. Yet, in addition to establishing the difference between time and history, this discussion has also laid the foundation for examining prophecy, or the last "wonderful mechanism" (i.e., that which is divinely designed to connect parallel systems of "containment" and "development" within the divine-human covenant scheme).

Testament from Cocceius' seven temporal signs. (See: Schrenk, 303-305.) However, there are two older traditions which apply the number seven to the broader scope of history. They are Augustinianism and Joachimism. Augustine (354-430) broke history down into seven one thousand year periods. His construct was directly derived from the parallel of the seven days in creation. Furthermore, though primarily known for his threefold division of history based on the number of the Trinity, and on an equal number of generations before and after Christ, Joachim of Fiore (1132-1202) formulated a sevenfold division of history based on the seven letters in the Apocalypse. Even though Lampe's system is entirely different from these views, it is safe to say that he was inspired to apply the seven fold construct to all of history through them. For the early development of the sevenfold construct for the interpretation of history, see: Delno C. West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz, Joachim of Fiore A Study in Spiritual Perception and History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 10-12. Also see: Augustine, The City of God, trans. Marcus Dods, ed. Philip Schaff, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 2 (1887; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), bk. 20, chap. 7. Also see chapter IX, footnote # 88 below.

Earlier, in Part II of this paper, the "prophetic-symbolic" method of exegesis was discussed.¹¹⁹ There we learned that through Campegius Vitringa, Lampe received the Cocceian understanding that accepts prophecy as the "plan" or "idea," and history as the "accomplishment" or "realization" of prophecy. However, in light of our discussion on the relationship between time and history, it appears that it would be more accurate to say that the events and periods within history are the "accomplishments" or "realizations" of prophecy. Hence, in simplistic terms, prophecy is the portion of scripture that speaks of events and periods within history. In other words, prophecy is the link between the "containment" and "development" of scripture, and the "containment" and "development" of history. Prophecy is a link for "development" or "progression" in that as events are moving to their end, prophecies are also moving, so to speak, toward their end. This is allowed for, in that scripture, as established earlier, progresses within itself. Prophecy is a link for "containment" in that, as there is a certain number of events and periods in history, so there are a certain number of prophecies which speak of them. One must remember here that we are not just speaking of events in history alone, but also of periods. Hence, prophecy not only speaks of events, but speaks of the time in which certain events should happen. This relationship understands the Holy Spirit as putting "predicted events in prophecy in the same order in which they should take place in reality. Therefore, the duty of a Christian is to distinguish the times and periods in scripture as well as in history."¹²⁰ This connection between event, time, and prophecy is a key, if not the key, exegetical presupposition for the Cocceian school of thought.¹²¹ This is why Cocceians, and especially Lampe, put so much of an emphasis on the periodization of history and the organizing of dispensational events in scripture. This is also why covenant theologians place such a high significance on the necessity for the inspiration

¹¹⁹ See pages 70-71.

¹²⁰ Möller, 423. Also see chapter VIII, footnotes 84 and 88 below.

¹²¹ Ibid.

of the Holy Spirit within the interpretation of scripture -- for it is the Holy Spirit who organizes prophecy with time, and time with prophecy.¹²²

Earlier it was said that Lampe understood Christ as the content of prophecy and history.¹²³ Likewise, in the extensive quote from Möller given earlier, it was expressed that Cocceius and Lampe understood Christ as the foundation to all Scriptural revelation.¹²⁴ Now, all of these statements concerning Christ come together nicely within the system of parallels. First, it was stated earlier that the purpose of the pre-temporal covenant was to bring Glory and recognition to God, and for fellowship with humanity.¹²⁵ In light of God foreseeing sin, such fellowship could only take place through the reconciling work of Christ.¹²⁶ Hence, Christ became the central figure in the pre-temporal covenant. Now, if time is the divine tool for the temporal actualization of the pre-temporal covenant, then time serves the purpose of actualizing the work of Christ. And if time is that which connects and moves events, and consequently forms epoch periods or events in history, then these epoch periods or events serve the work of Christ as well. And if prophecy speaks of and to these events and periods in history, then prophecy speaks of and to the work of Christ. Hence, Christ is the content of prophecy and history. Moreover, since all this stems from scriptural revelation, then, as Möller pointed out, Christ is surely the foundation of scripture and the entire system. Furthermore, in light of this christocentric emphasis, the entire structure of the parallels, or all of revelation, is seen as a means of realizing the kingdom of God.¹²⁷ Hence, all of this puts an eschatological dynamic within the Cocceian and Lampean systems.

¹²² See pages 74 and 75 for the discussion on the importance of the Holy Spirit within the Cocceian understanding of the interpretation of scripture.

¹²³ See pages 148-150 above. Also see footnotes 79-81.

¹²⁴ See footnote #96 above.

¹²⁵ See footnote #18 above.

¹²⁶ See pages 137 ff. above.

¹²⁷ Möller, 404.

In discussing the Cocceian understanding of scriptural revelation, time, creation, and prophecy, we have accomplished three things. First, we have completed our comparison between Lampe and Cocceius concerning the "first essential" (i.e., the existence, design and purpose of the pre-temporal and eternal covenant). We have seen that Lampe and Cocceius are identical in most of their views (i.e., the existence of a pre-temporal covenant, the roles of the members of the Trinity, etc.), except they slightly differ when it comes to the periodization of history.¹²⁸ Cocceius understood history as divided by the covenant of works and the covenant of grace, Lampe did as well. Cocceius understood the covenant of grace as broken down into "the time before the promise" and "the time after the promise." Lampe held to this as well, but renamed the divisions as "the time before Christ" and "the time after Christ." Furthermore, Cocceius and Lampe both held to a sevenfold division of the New Testament.¹²⁹ The difference between them occurs when Lampe expands his use of the sevenfold system to encompass the entire history of the world.

Yet, more important than the variance in historical periodization, is the discovery that Lampe's understanding of progression and "revelatory reciprocity" fits into a larger scheme. Through our analysis with Cocceius, we have seen that reciprocity and progression do not just pertain to nature and its "modeling" relationship to the pre-temporal and divine-human covenant, but they relate to scripture and history as well. In short, progression and reciprocity exist in all dimensions of revelation.

The second thing we have accomplished through discussing the Cocceian understanding of scriptural revelation, time, creation, and prophecy; and through expressing Lampe's adherence to these views; has been to formulate a "system of parallels" as the framework behind Lampe's system of grace. The "system of parallels" can be summarized in the following way: (1) the Spirit, through faith, links the revelation of scripture to the pre-temporal covenant; (2) the Spirit, through time, links the pre-temporal covenant to history; (3) the Spirit, through epoch periods and

¹²⁸ See page 162 above. Also see footnotes 116-117.

¹²⁹ See footnote # 118 above.

events, links history to scripture; (4) the Spirit, through prophecy, links scripture to the epoch periods and events in history; (5) all three "units" (i.e., the pre-temporal covenant "unit", the "unit" of history, and the "unit" of scripture) are contained within the pre-determined will of God, and yet, from a human perspective, all the "units" express an element of development, or progression; and (6) all the "units" share a principle of reciprocity (i.e., scripture speaks to the pre-temporal covenant and vice versa; history and time, which includes nature, speaks to scripture and vice versa, etc.).

Naturally, everything that has been said concerning Lampe's "first essential" fits into the six point system given above. For the sake of review, and for brevity, all the factors that we have discussed are listed below with numbers in bold-print coming after each one. These numbers represent the six points pertaining to the aforementioned "system of parallels". The reader simply needs to locate each factor under its corresponding point to see how it relates to the system. When needed, additional explanatory notes are provided with the numerical reference. With this said; the factors that have been discussed so far in Lampe's system of grace, are:¹³⁰

- (1) *For Lampe, the pre-temporal covenant exists.* [1]¹³¹
- (2) *The pre-temporal covenant is modeled in nature and in human covenants.* [2+6]
Nature, of course, is an extension of the "creative act" of God, which is the initiatory act in the temporal realization of the pre-temporal covenant; and the "creative act" includes and incorporates time. The processes in nature are an extension of the process within the "creative act." Likewise, humans fit into this pattern as well, however, to humans there is added a moral quality. For humans, covenant processes are not just naturally occurring things like the covenant patterns within a tree (i.e., a tree is covenanted, so to speak, to bear fruit).¹³² Rather humans must decide to covenant;¹³³ but this was patterned in creation as well, for God decided to temporally actualize his covenant plan. In light of

¹³⁰ They are listed in the order in which they were presented in this paper.

¹³¹ See footnotes 16-18 above.

¹³² See example on page 132.

¹³³ Lampe states that one must "put Christ in the center of faith, and cross over into his family." *Geheimnis*, II, 268.

nature and human covenants resembling aspects of "time", and that "reciprocity" is a by product of this, this factor has been placed under point #2+6.

- (3) *Progression is an integral part of the plan.* [5]¹³⁴
- (4) *There is a principle of reciprocity between what is revealed and its origin.* [6]¹³⁵
- (5) *Human responsibility is an integral part of the pre-temporal plan.* [6] It was stated earlier that Christ is understood as both the "recipient" and "co-equal partner" within the pre-temporal covenant, and that humanity is understood in a similar fashion. (Humanity is viewed as being both a "recipient" and "participant" within the covenant.) Because of this parallel, there is natural reciprocity. Christ models our role, as we, when faithfully responding to God's covenant, model him.¹³⁶ Hence, this factor has been placed under point #6. There is much more that needs to be said about the role of human responsibility within the "system of parallels." But the details of this will be discussed later.
- (6) *The covenant of grace is eternal.* [1+5] If one understands the divine-human covenant as both stemming from the pre-temporal covenant among the Father and the Son,¹³⁷ and as returning back to the Father,¹³⁸ then one obviously understands the divine-human covenant as eternal. Furthermore, the primary knowledge of the covenant is revealed through scripture. Hence, this factor has been placed under points #1 and 5.
- (7) *All things stem from the pre-temporal covenant.* [1+2]¹³⁹
- (8) *God initiates the eternal covenant.* [5]¹⁴⁰
- (9) *The Son is the "Angel" and "Guarantor" of the eternal covenant.* [1-6] Lampe says that Christ is the basis and content of the covenant of grace,¹⁴¹ and that the covenant of grace, in its essence, can be considered as an eternal covenant.¹⁴² Since the eternal covenant plan

¹³⁴ See pages 132-133 above. Also see footnote #29 above.

¹³⁵ See page 132 and footnote #26 above.

¹³⁶ See pages 134-136 above.

¹³⁷ See footnote #139 below.

¹³⁸ See footnote #139 below.

¹³⁹ See page 130 and footnote #18. Also see pages 133-134 above.

¹⁴⁰ See page 135 and footnote #38 above.

¹⁴¹ See: *Geheimnis*, II, 101 and 111.

¹⁴² See page 129 and footnote #17 above.

has the six point "system of parallels" as its framework, then one can rightly say that Christ is the content and basis for points #1-6.¹⁴³

- (10) *The Holy Spirit mediates the eternal covenant to humanity.* [1-4]¹⁴⁴
- (11) *The eternal covenant is broken down into the covenant of works and the covenant of grace.* [3+4]¹⁴⁵
- (12) *The covenant of grace can be broken down into either the "time before Christ" and the "time after Christ;" or "the time under the promise", "the time under the law", and "the time under the Gospel."* [3+4]¹⁴⁶
- (13) *Lampe held a strong tension between viewing Christ as "appointee" and as "co-equal partner.* [6] It appears that this emphasis was made by Lampe in order to set up the idea of tension and human responsibility within his understanding of the divine-human covenant. Our role in the temporal actualization of the eternal covenant is exhibited by Christ's role in the pre-temporal one. Hence, there is reciprocity here (see factor #5 above).
- (14) *Lampe held a similar tension with humanity as being the "recipient" and "participant" within the covenant plan of God.* [6] See factors #5 and 13 above.
- (15) *Lampe placed a strong emphasis on the prophetic or teaching office of Christ within the covenant system.* [3, 4+6] It has been stated many times that Lampe understood Christ as the content of prophecy and history.¹⁴⁷ It also has been shown how prophecy teaches us of history, and history teaches us of prophecy.¹⁴⁸ Hence Christ teaches us of himself through history and prophecy. Furthermore, it has been shown how the role of Christ in the pre-temporal covenant is an example for how we are within the temporal realm; and this modeling relationship is reciprocal. Hence, in consideration of these details, this factor fits under points #3, 4 and 6.

¹⁴³ The reader should put emphasis on the word "framework" here; for Lampe does not directly describe the "system of parallels" as supporting his covenant concept. But, as quite evident from the above discussion, Lampe implied such a system. The "system of parallels" should not be considered as Lampe's thought verbatim, but as the framework behind his thought.

¹⁴⁴ See page 137 and footnote #46.

¹⁴⁵ See pages 141-143 above.

¹⁴⁶ See pages 142-143 and footnotes 60 and 61 above.

¹⁴⁷ See page 165 and footnote #123.

¹⁴⁸ See pages 149-150 above.

- (16) *The temporal progression of the eternal covenant witnesses to how an individual should progress, and vice versa. Hence, there is an instrumental link between the individual and the "first essential."* [5+6]¹⁴⁹

The third thing that has been accomplished through our investigation into Cocceius' understanding of scriptural revelation, time, creation, and prophecy; and Lampe's adherence to these views; has been to provide the first substantial piece of evidence in understanding exactly how Lampe understood the role of the individual within history. So far, there have been three "units" discussed within the "system of parallels": the "unit" of the pre-temporal covenant; the "unit" of scripture; and the "unit" of history. But there is a fourth "unit" that must be included to make this theological system complete -- the "unit" of humanity, or of the individual. An individual models the format of the other "units" in that he or she is both "contained" and "progressive". One is "contained" in that one is elected or predestined by God;¹⁵⁰ and one is "progressive" in that one grows or develops in his/her walk with God, and in his/her knowledge of election.¹⁵¹ Now, how is the individual "unit" connected with the other "units"? Of course, the answer is the Holy Spirit. First, through the inspiring of faith, the Holy Spirit connects scripture to the individual.¹⁵² This in turn connects the individual with the pre-temporal covenant concept, and with prophecy. Prophecy in turn connects the individual with epoch periods and events in history, and the latter connects one back to prophecy as well. But does the individual have any real impact in this "system of parallels"? In order to answer this question we must look back at the principle of reciprocity. It was shown earlier how scripture, the pre-temporal covenant, and

¹⁴⁹ See page 150 and footnote #85 above.

¹⁵⁰ Lampe's doctrine of predestination will be discussed latter, but for now it is important to note that he did hold to a doctrine of double predestination. As O'Malley states: Lampe "teaches double predestination as two specific decrees, not mere fore-knowledge; but he opposes the supralapsarians for their assumption that God, in his eternal counsel, regards man as a sinful creature." O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 70.

¹⁵¹ Lampe says that persons should "examine themselves to see if they already have the marks of election and where they do not employ diligence to make them steadfast.... But those who encounter the marks of election in themselves must be thankful to God, and... honestly choose to establish them anew." Geheimnis, I, 153-156, and 159.

¹⁵² See Part II of this study, page 90.

history all share a principle of reciprocity. Therefore, if the individual is truly another "unit" in this system, then should it not be expected that the individual share in the principle of reciprocity as well? In keeping with orthodoxy, we agree that the Holy Spirit impacts an individual through the Word of God. Likewise, Lampe understood that one is called unto salvation through the hearing of the Word.¹⁵³ Furthermore, we all have seen examples of how the Holy Spirit has moved through events in history to lead individuals to salvation as well. For example, wars often bring people to their knees. Lampe too, understood history as having such an impact.¹⁵⁴ Now, if scripture and history can speak to the individual, then can an individual speak to history and scripture? In light of the principle of reciprocity, and the tight "system of parallels," the answer here must be yes. None of us would doubt that as an individual lives out his/her life for Christ, then he/she bears witness to the truth of scripture, and in turn strengthens its message to the world. In this sense, an individual speaks to scripture. But would we all agree that an individual speaks to history? Lampe would say that an individual does. For as the individual lives out his/her life for Christ, he/she is truly entering into the redemptive flow of history, because history is the temporal unfolding of the purpose of Christ.¹⁵⁵ And if one shares in the purpose of Christ,

¹⁵³ Lampe understood the first step in his sevenfold *Heilsordnung* to be a general call through the preaching of the Gospel, "whereby all who hear it are summoned rationally and conclusively in order that they may attain the salvation acquired through Christ." (Lampe cited in: O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 71.) However, not all persons respond positively, some throw the invitation away, others just make an outward confession (See: *Geheimnis*, II, 56.).

¹⁵⁴ One must recall that Lampe understood history in the context of the modeled development in creation. He understood epoch periods in a corresponding fashion to the seven days of creation. Furthermore, Lampe understood the shifts from one epoch period to another as being caused by an epoch event or movement. This is substantiated by simply reviewing his periodization of history, and observing those events which he places at the beginning and/or end of each period. The point here is this: that Lampe understood major events as "causing" epoch periods in history, and he also understood that such epoch periods followed the sevenfold model of creation. When describing all of this, Lampe tells his readers: "Through this one is spurred on to keep things in regard, so that one also becomes the creation of grace...." (*Geheimnis*, II, 184-185.) This statement clearly shows that Lampe understood history, or epoch events and periods in history as having a spiritual impact on persons.

¹⁵⁵ Concerning Lampe's understanding at this point, O'Malley states: "The pilgrim [or follower of Christ, or "*Nachfolger Christi*") then becomes a disciple of the *ongoing* Christ of history, and not merely of the historical Jesus of the first century A.D., although His incarnate work from birth to ascension is the indispensable basis for His ongoing redemptive activity. "Do you not see how orderly one step follows another... since that which follows is always a new and developing image of the past?" The Word, nature, and history all bear witness for the '*Nachfolger Christi*' of the coming, decisive consummation toward which his personal pilgrimage is directed and

and his purpose is that all of humanity might participate in his kingdom,¹⁵⁶ then Christ's kingdom is "advanced". Hence, the individual believer speaks to history, because history is synonymous with the cosmic progression of the kingdom of God.¹⁵⁷

This human/history relationship is supported in Lampe by two major parallels. First, his use of a sevenfold system in history and in the *Heilsordnung*, along with his similar language when speaking of the two, provides evidence to the relationship being spoken of here.¹⁵⁸ Second, if the "system of parallels" is going to be implemented in full, then one must say that the individual speaks to the "unit" of the pre-temporal covenant as well. Accordingly, Lampe portrays this in the similarity between Christ as "recipient" and "co-equal" partner in the pre-temporal covenant, and the individual as "recipient" and "participant" of the divine-human plan. Hence, in light of these parallels, it appears that Lampe understood that an individual, since she is a part of a covenant "system of parallels," appropriates the entire system of grace when appropriating Christ unto herself; and therefore, as she progresses in her appropriation of salvation, she progresses history proportionately (see factor #16 above).

With this, we have come to the close of our discourse on Lampe's "first essential" within his system of grace (or System A -- the eternal covenant partnership). In discussing the existence of a pre-temporal covenant, and its overall design and purpose (or the "first essential"), we have

from which it derives its deepest meaning...." O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 297-298. Brackets mine. O'Malley is citing Lampe; see: *Geheimnis*, IV, 124.

¹⁵⁶ In light of predestination, Lampe understood the purpose of Christ as being the salvation of the chosen. As Lampe states: "Out of love and for the salvation of the souls of his chosen, he did without, and voluntarily submitted himself to hardships which he would not have had to do were not the salvation of the souls of his chosen ones more important to him than the comfort of his flesh." (*Geheimnis*, V, 212-213) However, in respect to his understanding of the divine-human covenant, and human responsibility, Lampe clearly speaks of a universal call to salvation as being the purpose of the Son. This is often hinted to in his chapter on eschatology (See Part IV of this paper, or *Geheimnis*, V, 819-877.) But it is clearly expressed when Lampe states: "A universal offer for the fruits of the satisfaction [that is the satisfaction of Christ] takes place in the Gospel. All the more since the merit of the son of God was contented to save the entire human race for the sake of the infinite worthiness of the person who accomplished it. *Geheimnis*, I, 185. Brackets mine.

¹⁵⁷ See pages 165-166 and footnote #127 above.

¹⁵⁸ The relationship between Lampe's seven stages of history and the seven steps of salvation will be fully examined within the next two chapters of this paper.

come to the heart of the thesis issue. However, there are some significant difficulties with Lampe's system as so far defined. The first problem exists with the understanding of time as a designed tool of God. If time was designed right from the start, then was humanity given a time limit within the Garden, prior to the fall; or was time a result of the fall? If humankind was given a time limit in the Garden, then physical death would be a part of God's design for humanity. Is this a proper doctrine? If physical death is a consequence of the fall, and if physical death is understood as having a time limit placed upon one's self, then was the fall a design of God? If the fall was a design of God, Lampe's concepts of a two-part eternal covenant progression stemming from God's pre-temporal plan would have no problem in being accepted. For sin would just be a part of the entire process. But certainly, Lampe did not define the fall as designed and implemented by God.¹⁵⁹ Yet, at the same time, he still supports an all encompassing pre-temporal covenant plan. Ultimately, how is this difficulty to be dealt with?

The second issue of difficulty that arises when viewing Lampe's system as so far defined, is that of "real" human responsibility. If the entire "system of parallels" is truly contained within God, and each "unit" within that system exhibits the containment of the whole, then how can individuals play any real part within the system?

Lampe deals with these issues by focusing less on the "first essential" and more on the "second essential." The second "essential" in the eternal covenant partnership covers the temporal progression of the pre-temporal plan, and involves the covenant of works, the fall, the "federal principle", the covenant of grace, and human responsibility. In the "second essential," Lampe views sin as a "true" break in the divine-human covenant, and therefore, looks more at the covenant of works and the covenant of grace as two separate covenants, rather than as two within one. Nevertheless, Lampe never resolves the tensions of his "first essential," rather he "alleviates" them by focusing less on the eternal covenant plan of God, and more on the temporal covenant

¹⁵⁹ This is clearly implied when Lampe speaks of God having to adopt "various ways with man, according to man's various qualities before and after the fall, in order to bring [man] into his fellowship...." (*Geheimnis*, I, 6-7.) This statement plainly implies that the fall was a result of the actions of humanity, and that God, in response to it, had to deal with it accordingly.

reality of humankind. Of course, such a shift in emphasis does not nullify the "first essential," for the "first essential" is needed in order to accommodate the second. There could be no divine-human covenant without the pre-temporal covenant among the members of the Trinity. Nor could there be any purpose for the "unit" of the individual, if there were not the other "units" within the "system of parallels." In short, the "first essential" is the more philosophical one,¹⁶⁰ the second is the more practical one.

With all this said, we now turn to look at the "second essential" within the eternal covenant partnership, which is composed of the covenant of works, the fall, the "federal principle", and the covenant of grace.

¹⁶⁰ Again the reader should be reminded that Lampe, like Cocceius, down played philosophical speculation (See Part II, pages 75-76.). The first part of Lampe's system of grace, which this writer has labeled as the "first essential", was definitely alluded to by Lampe's own statements. (This I hope has been clearly shown through the above discourse.) However, as stated earlier (See footnote #143 above.), the philosophical approach taken in the above discussion (i.e., the establishment of the "system of parallels") should not be considered as being from Lampe verbatim, but rather as the implied framework beneath his practical orientation in theology.

CHAPTER VII

SYSTEM A -- THE ETERNAL COVENANT PARTNERSHIP THE SECOND "ESSENTIAL"

The Second "Essential" -- The Covenant of Works, The Fall, The Federal Principle, and the Covenant of Grace

In the preceding discussion we addressed the existence, design and purpose of the pre-temporal covenant. We also discussed the roles of the members of the Trinity within the pre-temporal covenant, and within that covenant's temporal actualization. Furthermore, we discussed the role of scripture, time and creation; and when putting all these things together, we formulated the "system of parallels," which serves as the framework to Lampe's covenant theology, or system of grace. Here, however, in presenting the "second essential" to Lampe's theology, we will focus on the role of humanity and the temporal reality of the pre-temporal design. First we will identify the role of humanity within the covenant of works and the fall. Then we will describe the "federal principle" and the effects of the fall upon humanity. Finally, we will discuss the covenant of grace, the role of humanity within it, and its benefits. Furthermore, after presenting these factors within Lampe's "second essential," we will compare them to Calvin and Cocceius.

The Covenant of Works and the Fall

From the practical, temporal perspective, Lampe places less emphasis on the two parts of the eternal covenant as being part of a whole, and instead, sees the two parts as distinguishable covenants in and of themselves. This understanding matches Lampe's Roelianistic tendency in viewing the Trinity;¹ for instead of viewing the Trinity as one, it is easier, from a practical standpoint, to view the Trinity as three. Likewise it is easier to view the covenant of works and the covenant of grace as two separate covenants.

¹ See chapter VI, footnote #20, on page 130 above.

According to Lampe, and covenant theology as a whole, there existed a covenant of works between God and humanity prior to the fall. In his innocence, Adam was able to exercise free will.² Thus, a relationship to the Creator could be maintained simply through the means of covenant obedience. In other words, though the covenant was really one sided, in that all the terms and benefits of the covenant belonged to God,³ humanity, in all practical terms, was placed in a "co-equal" partnership with God. If Adam carried out his covenant obligation, there was the promise of life; if Adam disobeyed, or broke the covenant, then there was the promise of death. All of this is concisely stated by Lampe when he writes:

The covenant of works is the pact that God had set up with Adam in the place of innocence, in which God promised life to humanity under the condition of an ongoing obedience to the law, and threatened death if there was a transgression against that law.⁴

When viewing the covenant of works alone, one sees a straightforward relationship -- if humanity obeys then all is well, if humanity disobeys then the covenant is broken and all is bad. Moreover, in light of this simple equation, it appears as if humanity could have had a relationship with God without the sending of the Son. But, how could this be in respect to the pre-temporal plan which had the sending of Christ for the glory of God and the reconciliation of humanity as its

² One may argue whether Lampe understood Adam as having free will, because there are times when Lampe holds to a supralapsarian view of election, which would seem to impact Adam, since in this view places election before the creation of the world. However, there are two major issues which support Lampe in seeing Adam as a free agent. First, Lampe's definition of the covenant of works (which is given under footnote #4 below) clearly expresses that Adam had to meet the condition of obedience. Second, Lampe understands sin as inverting the natural order of man. Before the fall, all acts of the will came after understanding; after the fall, the situation was reversed. (O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 69.) In other words, prior to the fall, Adam was able to act freely on what he knew or understood, and what he understood was the conditions of the covenant of works (i.e., obey and live, disobey and die). After the fall, humanity's ability to will or decide does not follow a clear understanding of any "conditions," but rather is enslaved to dispositions or passions. The soul no longer controls the body, but the body controls the soul. (O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 69.) The fact that Lampe held to such an understanding of the effects of the fall clearly establishes the fact that he understood Adam as having the ability to exercise free will prior to the fall. When this point is added to the first, the argument is irrefutable. Adam's free will is discussed in more detail under the concept of "mutability" in chapter VIII of this paper.

³ See chapter VI, footnote #36, on page 135 above. Also see page 136 above. In addition, see: *Geheimnis*, I, 63-64.

⁴ *Geheimnis*, I, 7. Also see Strehle, 360, footnote #20.

sole purpose?⁵ If we maintain a practical view, and see the covenant of works as a rightful covenant in and of itself, then one must ask if Christ would have come even if the covenant of works remained in tact.⁶ In light of the "first essential" it seems as if he would have. However, if we begin to speculate along these lines we are confusing the system. For we would be taking an element of the "first essential" (i.e., the eternal purpose of the Son), which demands that we view the system as a whole, and would be placing it in one aspect of the system's temporal actualization. In other words, we would be trying to fit the whole system into part of the system. Such an attempt would only lead to unresolved difficulties and speculation. Accordingly, as far as this author can tell, Lampe does not speculate on the need for Christ within the context of the covenant of works.⁷ Conversely therefore, Lampe also does not, as some do, ask if whether humanity was in a redeemed state, or not, prior to the fall.⁸ For the pre-fall state was one of an entirely different nature. The pre-fall condition for humanity was one concerning the maintenance of innocence and righteousness. The post-fall condition concerns the appropriation of righteousness. From a practical sense, these two conditions, and those things which are provided for these conditions, can not be commingled. This practical approach is clearly stated by Lampe when he claims that "God had to... adopt different ways with man according to man's various

⁵ See pages 135-138 of this study.

⁶ Compare this issue with the one concerning reconciliation as a pre-temporal design. See pages 137-138 of this study.

⁷ The reader should be aware that this author has translated many of Lampe's column notes from all six volumes of his Geheimnis. No where in these notes has such speculation been evident. Furthermore, this author has translated, or has had translated, major portions of book one, which "by common consent of his interpreters," contains "the center of his theological perspective;" (Stoeffler, German Pietism, 229.) and no where is the need for Christ within the covenant of works addressed. Likewise, there is no evidence of this in the several portions of text translated from books two through six as well.

⁸ One example of those who speak of Adam as a redeemed man is Holmes Rolston III. He states: "Adam's relationship to [the] law [or to the terms of the covenant of works] was essentially that of a redeemed man." Brackets mine. See: Holmes Rolston III, John Calvin Verses the Westminster Confession (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1972), 42. Also see: Helm, 74.

qualities before and after the fall...."⁹ He then goes on to say that because of the shift in the condition of man, "there originated then, ...the covenant of works and the covenant of grace."¹⁰

In light of the above, one can say that humanity was responsible for the "progression" from the covenant of works to the covenant of grace. In the "first essential" we saw how the entire process of salvation, from the covenant of works to the covenant of grace, stemmed from the Trinity and how it is contained by the Trinity. Here, however, we see how the system evolves, or progresses, through human responsibility. As stated many times before, there is an obvious tension here, but Lampe understands both realities as essential to proper covenant theology. Hence, for this reason, this author has called these "realities" the first and second "essentials" to Lampe's system.¹¹

Even though identifying the fall, or transition into the covenant of grace, as being the result of Adam's free choice appears to alleviate the difficulty in seeing the fall as a part of God's direct design, the difficulty still remains. However, the issue takes on a different orientation here. For in consideration of Adam's decision to disobey, one might ask: Should sin be understood as a progressive element, or as something destructive for humanity? In light of the "first essential," or in light of the sending of Christ as the purpose of the pre-temporal plan, there is no doubt that the fall appears to be an intended part of the covenant progression between God and humankind. Furthermore, if human decision, or responsibility, is also understood as a part of the pre-temporal plan,¹² then naturally, the fall takes on this same "appearance" as well. Here again, however, Lampe does not seek to resolve all of this, rather he looks at the practical reality that the fall

⁹ *Geheimnis*, I, 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ In the introduction to chapter VI, it was stated that "the Cocceian/Lampean covenant idea rests on two fundamental principles: (1) the pre-creation, or pre-temporal, existence of the covenant, and (2) the post-creation progression of that covenant." (See footnote #5 on page 125 above.) And human responsibility, from Lampe's practical perspective, plays the central role in point #2.

¹² See pages 134-135 above.

occurred, and that sin (or a broken relationship with God) is now a part of all of our lives.¹³ For Lampe, the cosmic scheme of things only progressed past the fall because of the grace of God.¹⁴ Thus, in light of God's grace and our post-fall position, there is no doubt that the fall should, and does, appear to be a part of the overall plan of salvation. However, let there be no mistake about it, Lampe understood the fall as the breaking of the divine-human covenant relationship.¹⁵ Now, if one puts these factors (i.e., the practical and destructive view of sin) together with the present context of human responsibility¹⁶ and Lampe's parallels between the individual and history, then it appears as if Lampe's understanding of the fall and individual sin can be explained in the following manner: If one rejects faith and chooses to remain in sin, then, so to speak, there is no progression past the fall, for there is no covenant of grace in her life.¹⁷ There is simply the guilt and pain of the broken covenant of works and death.¹⁸ However, if one, chooses by faith to receive God's

¹³ See Lampe, *Milch der Wahrheit*, 21. Also see: *The Heidelberg Catechism*, question #7.

¹⁴ See Lampe, *Milch der Wahrheit*, 82-104. Also see *The Heidelberg Catechism*, questions 26-28 on the providence of God.

¹⁵ The loss of the original covenant is made clear by the "general call" that Lampe voices to post-fall humanity. He cries: "Come here sinner, this is a covenant for you! God wants to be the first party; should you not wish to be the second?" Cited in: O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 69.

¹⁶ The allowance for human responsibility is central to this part of our discussion. If it is considered alone, then all that is being spoken of here becomes easier to understand. However, the reader must keep in mind that the fall and the post-fall condition must be held in tension with election and the first "essential". Yet, even if election is allowed for, Lampe still suggests an element of human responsibility. In fact, after the fall he claims that humanity must accept Christ "alone" and "entirely." See *Geheimnis*, I, 290. Also see chapter IV, footnote #61, on page 81 of this paper.

¹⁷ Lampe's describes a person void of grace, or a non-partner in the covenant of grace, as "a child smothering in his blood," or as "a dead hound" before God's feet. (See *Geheimnis*, I, 79 and O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 69.) The sinner is void of progression in that she does not step into the covenant. And when the individual refuses to covenant with God, she refuses to step into the purpose of Christ, and therefore refuses to step into the progression of history and the kingdom of God. Again all this must be counter balanced with Election and the perspective of sin as being part of the whole system. But from Lampe's practical perspective, it appears that he understood the sinner as being outside of the covenant scheme, which as shown earlier rests within a "system of parallels." In short then, when a person is in sin, they have a broken relationship with God, and are out of "synch" with the overall system. Compare this to the discussions on pages 84-85, 91, and 102-103 of this paper.

¹⁸ As Lampe states: "The final part of misery [or that produced through the fall] is the ultimate weakness of the sinner, since he can neither fulfill the law, nor bear the punishment, nor run from the power of Satan, nor find the way to life...." *Geheimnis*, I, 105-107.

covenant of grace, then there is progression after the fall;¹⁹ and if one is continually obedient to God's favor, then there is continual progression unto the consummation and renewal of history.²⁰ Now, in keeping with this parallel, and with the principle of reciprocity, the individual scenario can speak back to the cosmic-historical picture as well: When Adam sinned, at that time in history there was no progression, no furthering of the divine-human covenant. There was nothing but pain, guilt and death. Yet by God's grace there was made the promise of redemption, and the sending of Christ. Hence, because of God's grace, the broken covenant of works was transformed into the covenant of grace. Finally, after a time of promise there was the actual historic arrival of the Son; and now history, after Christ's death, resurrection and ascension, awaits his coming kingdom.

The Federal Principle

The above parallel brings us to the heart of the "federal principle" within covenant theology. The "federal principle" simply considers Adam "as an individual being who was appointed by God as a 'public person', the 'federal head' of the human race."²¹ The parallel above clearly suggests that Lampe understood Adam as the "federal representative" for humanity.²² For

¹⁹ Lampe states: "Therefore if one seeks with focused eyes to walk in the one way [the covenant of grace], and when one walks it to stay on it, then one will reach the goal." *Geheimnis*, II, 124-126. Brackets by Lampe.

²⁰ See footnote #19 above. The reason the phrase "consummation and renewal of history" is used here is because Lampe does not see a clear end to history, but a renewal of history within temporality. In other words, Lampe holds to a possibility of an eighth day within history. See paragraphs XXIV and XXV in Part IV of this paper, or see: *Geheimnis*, V, 869-875.

²¹ Helm, 72.

²² Even though Lampe holds to the covenant view of Adam as a "federal head", he also holds to Adam as a "realistic" representative; whereby Adam's corruption is passed on, not through a representative means, but through the natural process of bearing new generations. Lampe holds to this view in that he supports the *Heidelberg Catechism*, which clearly presents this form of thought. For the seventh question in the catechism asks: "Where, then, does this corruption of human nature come from?" Then the answer which is provided states: "From the fall and disobedience of our first parents, Adam and Eve, in the Garden of Eden; whereby our human life is so poisoned that we are all conceived and born in the state of sin." (See United Church Press edition, 15-16. Also see: Lampe, *Milch der Wahrheit*, 21.) This "realistic" view of the representation of Adam and the transmission of his sin comes from Augustine and Anselm. Augustine states: "But as man the parent is, such is man the offspring. In the first man, therefore, there existed the whole human nature, which was to be transmitted by the woman to posterity, when that conjugal union received the divine sentence of its own condemnation; and what man was

it portrays that Adam's actions, and their consequences, are representative for all of us in history; and accordingly, our actions, in relation to the divine-human covenant, are symbolic of his own. However, substantiation for Lampe's acceptance of the "federal principle" does not rest in the above parallel alone. Instead it rests in two aspects of traditional covenant theology that Lampe employed. First, covenant theology understands Adam's Garden existence as "bounded by threats and promises;"²³ and being "bounded by threats and promises" represents legal terms. Accordingly, if legal language is used, then emphasis is placed on the legal agreement that exists. For example, if John Doe is represented by his father in a court of law, and if John describes his father as father, there is no clue of any court proceedings. If John describes his father as his attorney, then there is a clue to the court proceedings. In keeping with this example, covenant theologians desire that Adam be described as our "attorney", or "representative", rather than as our "father". The simple reason for this is that it brings emphasis to the legal, or covenant structure that serves as the basis for all of reality.

It has been clearly established that Lampe is a covenant theologian, and that he uses such legal phrases as "bounded by threats and promises."²⁴ Hence, in light of the first aspect (i.e., the use of legal language in describing Adam), Lampe clearly accepted the "federal principle."

made, not when created, but when he sinned and was punished, this he procreated, so far as the origin of sin and death are concerned." [Augustine, *The City of God*, XIII.3. Also see: Helm, 71-72.] And following Augustine, Anselm says: "So if Adam and Eve had kept their original justice, then those who were born of them would likewise have been originally just. For Adam and Eve were originally strong and uncorrupted, having the ability always to keep justice without any difficulty. But because they sinned personally, their whole being became weakened and corrupt.... And because human nature as a whole was in Adam and Eve, and because there was no human nature outside them, the whole human nature was weakened and corrupted." (Cited in: Helm, 72.) All of this has been pointed out to express that Lampe held a moderate tension in almost every aspect of his theology. Interestingly, Calvin, as will be discussed later in this paper, gave evidence of both the "realistic" and "representative" views. (See footnote # 158 below.) Hence, Lampe, in this respect, is very close to Calvin's own perspective, for he held to both positions as well. Yet, holding to both views does no harm to Lampe's understanding of the covenant of works and the role of Adam within covenant theology. For "as W. G. T. Shedd, himself an ardent nineteenth century advocate of the Augustinian view, remarks, 'the doctrine of the covenant of works is consistent with either theory of the Adamic connection.'" Cited in: Helm, 73.

²³ Helm, 74.

²⁴ See footnote #4 above.

The second traditional aspect that substantiates Lampe's acceptance of the "federal principle" is one that is closely related to the first. It is the aspect in covenant theology that understands God as Adam's "probationer".²⁵ "Surrounded by the goodness and care of God Adam was put to the test. If he were to pass the test then the reward of felicity ('eternal life') would follow."²⁶ This describes a probational period, and, of course, correspondingly describes God as the "probationer". Like the description of Adam, such a description of God is obviously a legal one; and therefore, simply adds to the emphasis of the concept of covenant as the basis for reality.

In respect to all of this, Lampe described the promises of the covenant of works as dependent on an "on going" condition of obedience. Hence, in light of this temporal phrase, there is no doubt that Lampe applied a probational character to Adam's life; and therefore understood God as Adam's probationer as well.

In discussing the "federal principle" we have accomplished three things. First, through the legal terminology involved in the "federal principle," we have been given a platform in which to better understand Lampe's implied parallel between Adam and the fall, and the individual and sin. Second, our discussion on the "federal principle" has added to our understanding of the roles of God, or the first party, within the divine-human covenant scheme. However, in respect to the full scope of covenant theology, God's role as "probationer" is primarily applicable to the covenant of works. Finally, the "federal principle" has provided a basis for understanding why covenant theologians, and especially Lampe, place an emphasis on "legal" obedience within the covenant of grace. Though the covenant of works was broken, God's demand for obedience was, and is, still

²⁵ This term is used by Helm. See: Helm, 74.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Note Helm's use of the word "felicity" here. He equates it with eternal life. Lampe claimed that if Adam kept an "on going" obedience that there would be life as well. (See footnote #4 above.) However, elsewhere he speaks of the promise of the covenant of grace as being life and "felicity". Now, should the reward for those in the covenant of grace be any different then the reward for obedient humanity prior to the fall? No, of course not. Therefore, it is safe to say that Lampe understood that Adam would have both eternal life and eternal happiness. The point here is that Lampe understood "felicity" as being something distinguishable from the promise of life, but inseparable from it. Compare all of this with the earlier discussion on felicity on pages 96-98 of this study.

in tack. The continuation of "legal" obedience is clearly evident within Lampe's description of the three major economies in history. Under the period of the promise which came after the fall, persons were to be faithfully obedient to that which was promised to them.²⁷ Under the period of the law, persons were, of course, to be faithfully obedient to the law.²⁸ Now, under the period of the Gospel, persons are to be obedient to the ways of Christ in order to express gratitude toward God, and to be a witness to others.²⁹ The Gospel, or more specifically, the person and work of Christ, fulfills the faithful obedience of those under the promise and the law.³⁰ However, "fulfills" does not mean "nullifies." In light of the concept of progression, either from the perspective of the "first essential" (i.e., the fall appears as a part of the process from the start), or from the practical perspective discussed above (i.e., the fall appears as part of the process after the fact), the periods of the promise and law must be seen as incorporated, not as obsolete and discarded. Christ has fulfilled the promises concerning his first coming, but these promises exhibit models of faith which are helpful in looking forward to the new promises of his kingdom.³¹ Likewise, the

²⁷ According to Lampe, that which was promised in the Old Testament was not just the earthly, or outward, promised land, but Christ and the inward messianic kingdom. (See: *Geheimnis*, III, 117 ff..) Hence, even in the Old Testament, under the time of the promise, the attainment of the true, or inward benefits, were understood as coming through faith, or faithful obedience in that for which there was hope. As Lampe states: "The Old Testament church had the correct understanding of the attainment of salvation, namely first in this life by faith...." (*Geheimnis*, III, 760-761.) Then within the same discussion, Lampe makes it known that with such faith, there "are certain attendant duties which must be acknowledged." (*Ibid.*, III, 770-772.) These duties may vary through each economy, in fact, many of the duties, or "pieces of worship..., which were formerly ordered by the Lord himself, are now an abomination to him." (*Ibid.*, II, 19. Also see Strehle, 362-363, footnote #29.) However, the inward duties related to faith, or spiritual disciplines, continue.

²⁸ Lampe followed the Heidelberg Catechism in seeing the keeping of the Law of God as "done out of true faith." (See The Heidelberg Catechism, question #91. Also see Lampe, *Milch der Wahrheit*, 384 ff..)

²⁹ See: The Heidelberg Catechism, question and answer #86. Also see: Lampe, *Milch der Wahrheit*, 359 ff..

³⁰ In speaking of Christ as the sole content of the covenant of grace, Lampe states: "There is also only one content of the covenant of grace. There is... only one blessedness hoped for, into which the believers both *before* and after Christ were inducted." (*Geheimnis*, II, 111-113. Emphasis mine.) This clearly expresses that Christ provides what was hoped for under the times of the promise and the Law.

³¹ When speaking about Lampe's views in the context of the above issue, Strehle states that, "The Land of Canaan did stir expectations toward Messianic and heavenly promises." (See: Strehle, 363-364, footnote #33. Also see: *Geheimnis*, II, 138.) Likewise, under the dispensation of the Gospel, equal expectations exist. Hence, the latter can learn from the former.

law could not provide salvation, but it prepared the way for Christ;³² and keeping the law in the context of the Gospel can help maintain an individual's salvation,³³ which in turn can help prepare the way for Christ's second coming.³⁴ From this one can see that "the conviction of the endless perpetuity of the law belongs to the stability of salvation history theology."³⁵ Interestingly, the "endless perpetuity of the law" finds its origin in the covenant of works, and is first "set in motion" through the "federal principle".

In addition to all this, one must realize that this "legal" obedience, which exists in the covenant of grace and stems from the covenant of works, must be done out of love, and not on the bases of any "threats" or "promises".³⁶ We are to obey out of love for the glory of God in the midst of the covenant of grace, and Adam was to obey out of love for the glory of God in the midst of the covenant of works. Our obedience is the same as Adam's, it is the result that is different. His obedience maintained his state of innocence and integrity, ours does nothing without grace first, and then it only supports what grace has done.

³² See the second chapter in book three of the *Geheimnis*. This chapter is primarily dedicated to this issue.

³³ Again, Lampe adheres to the *Heidelberg Catechism*, and sees obedience to the Law (meaning the Ten Commandments in particular) as a part of good works in a Christian's life. Furthermore, he sees good works as something that helps assure a Christian of her faith. (See: *The Heidelberg Catechism*, question and answer #86. Also see: Lampe, *Milch der Wahrheit*, 359 ff..) Hence, when both of these factors are put together, it becomes obvious that the Law (i.e., particularly the Ten Commandments) helps a Christian in their daily walk with Christ. Furthermore, Lampe claims that there are several duties involved in holiness, or Christian maturity. Then in describing these duties he states that their "guideline must be the law of God." See: O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 314-315.

³⁴ This is said in light of the "system of parallels." For as it was established earlier, the central framework to Lampe's system implies that as one accepts Christ they impact history in that they step into the "system of parallels." But for a particular example of Lampe's views on this point, he states: "Every member of the Church must hold the relevant promises [and Laws] before the Lord in order that it [The Last Judgment, or the Renewal of History] may be fulfilled in the proper time." Hence, this clearly implies that through pray, and through the discipline (i.e., watchfulness) of holding to the promises and other spiritual "aids" provided by grace, one can assist in bringing about God's promises concerning the "end" in their proper time. See: *Geheimnis*, V, 876-877. Also see paragraph XXVII of Part IV of this paper.

³⁵ Möller, 422.

³⁶ See chapter IV, footnote #145, on page 102 above.

So far in discussing Lampe's "second essential", we have fully described the covenant of works, the role of humanity within it, and have fully examined the relationship between Adam and the rest of humanity in respect to his obedience. But now we must examine Adam's relationship to humanity in respect to his sin. In other words, what will be looked at here are the effects that his disobedience has on humanity. In short, we are ready to investigate Lampe's understanding of the universal effects of the fall.

The Universal Effects of the Fall

Lampe places the universal effects of the fall under the title of "human misery",³⁷ and describes the fallen sinner as "a child smothering [or choking] in his blood."³⁸ He then divides human misery, or the universal effects of the fall, into three sections, which are distinguishable, but not separable. The divisions are "original sin", the "ultimate danger", and the "ultimate weakness".³⁹ The first section, original sin, is all inclusive in that it encompasses the total depravity of human nature.⁴⁰ Consequently, Lampe further divides original sin into four sub-categories: the corrupt reason, the corrupt will, the corrupt "soul-movements", and the corrupt flesh or body.⁴¹

In discussing the sub-categories of original sin, Lampe first states that the fall made reason corrupt by clouding it with "ignorance, prejudices and foolishness;"⁴² and altered it from being

³⁷ See: Lampe, *Geheimnis*, I, 79 ff.. Also see: O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 69. O'Malley points out that this "labeling" corresponds to the language of the *Heidelberg Catechism*. See: Lampe, *Milch der Wahrheit*, 12 ff..

³⁸ *Geheimnis*, I, 79.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 78-116.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 81.

⁴¹ Lampe actually states that the human misery has two parts -- original sin and a corrupt reason. (*Geheimnis*, I, 81-82.) Then he goes on to speak about the will, "soul-movements", and the body. (*Geheimnis*, I, 84-88.) However, since the first category (i.e., original sin) is all inclusive, and since Lampe does not clearly explain why corrupt reason should be understood as a category "independent" from original sin, this writer has decided to view reason, the will, "soul-movements", and the body as sub-categories under the first.

⁴² *Geheimnis*, I, 82-83.

able to motivate one's will for the good. Since the fall, reason is now only "sufficiently skilled for wickedness."⁴³

Next Lampe speaks of the corruption of the will. He speaks of the will as being the "active" counterpart of reason.⁴⁴ Reason is the contemplative component within an action; and the will is that which moves reason into action. This relationship is implied by two things: First, according to Lampe, reason, or understanding, came before the will in humanity's pre-fallen condition. Now the will is "the slave of the dispositions [or of passion]."⁴⁵ In other words, prior to the fall the will acted rationally, now it acts upon corrupt emotions and/or desires. Certainly, such a delineation identifies the will as the initiator of action within the composition of human personality. The second factor that identifies the will as the "initiator of action" is the very language that Lampe uses to describe its corruption. He states that it acts against God, or is "rebellious" against him.⁴⁶ The importance of all this is that if the will is corrupt, then so is one's actions. This implies that though persons can do acts of philanthropy, etc., ultimately, without a transformation of the will through Christ, their actions, in the end, will still bear the marks of corruption and will be condemned.⁴⁷

The next sub-category of original sin is the corruption of the "soul-movements" [*Gemüts-Bewegungen*]. Lampe is somewhat unclear with his description of this point in his definition of original sin. On the surface, due to the descriptive title, and due to Lampe's definition of it as being empty of all good,⁴⁸ it appears as if "soul-movements" is synonymous with "desires". However, Lampe says that "soul-movements" are "completely full of evil desires."⁴⁹ Now if

⁴³ *Geheimnis*, I, 83-84.

⁴⁴ This description (i.e., "active") is my own.

⁴⁵ O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of faith*, 69. Brackets mine. Also see footnote #2 above.

⁴⁶ *Geheimnis*, I, 86 ff..

⁴⁷ See question #8 of *The Heidelberg Catechism*. Also see: Lampe, *Milch der Wahrheit*, 21 ff..

⁴⁸ *Geheimnis*, I, 86.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 87.

"soul-movements" are understood as desires, this would make no sense. For why would Lampe say that desire, which is empty of all good, is full of evil desire? Hence, it appears that something else must be meant by "soul-movements".

It could be that Lampe is speaking about the will, for the description of "soul-movements" could certainly describe that which motivates a person to action. Yet, why would Lampe use the term "will" on one page of his *Geheimnis* and then on the very next page use "soul-movements"?⁵⁰ Furthermore, if "will" and "soul-movements" mean the same, then why does Lampe give different descriptions of their corruption?⁵¹ Hence, something other than will must be meant here. Yet, if "soul-movements" does not mean desire or will, then what does it mean?

It appears as if Lampe is speaking about "intentions". From our earlier discussion, we saw that Lampe understood the will as that which motivates action. We also saw that reason is the contemplative component within action. In other words, we saw reason described as the "why" behind an action. Furthermore, we identified an action as something "willed", or "desired" on the basis of the "why" (i.e., reason). Intention, however, seems to lie behind reason.⁵² If this is the case, then one's intent, or intention, will guide her into contemplation (or reasoning). Then one's contemplation will bring her understanding, which will produce a desire for a certain action. And then she will carry the action out. For example, if one is intent on serving God, then one will reason that God should be served. Then one will desire to serve, and then will perform her service.

⁵⁰ *Geheimnis*, I, 85-86, 86-87.

⁵¹ Lampe says the will "is rebellious against God and a slave to sin." Then he says that "'soul-movements' are empty of good, and completely full of evil desires." See: *Geheimnis*, I, 84-87.

⁵² According to the *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, the archaic definition (thus placing the chosen definition around the time of Lampe) for "intention" is concept or notion. Hence, intention must lie "before" reason, or at the "start" of reason, for one can not think about that which has no beginning concept or notion. In other words, one can not use the mind (i.e., reason) without an initial "mind-movement" (Later it will be shown that "soul-movement" can also be defined as "mind-movement".) In short, notion is to conceptualization or reasoning as "soul-movement" or intention is to reason or reasoning.

Lampe did not philosophically delineate all of this into such a psychological pattern, but this pattern is still clearly implied. This is so for two reasons: First, Lampe's understanding of reason and will easily fits into this psychological pattern. Second, the descriptive title of "soul-movements" expresses something "deep" within the human composition. In fact, the term *Gemüt* can also mean mind, heart, nature, or spirit.⁵³ These other definitions support the arrangement given above. Would not "heart-movement", or "nature-movement", or "spirit-movement" imply something at the root of the human psyche? At the very least, "mind-movements" would imply something similar to reason, which, without the present concept of "intention", would lie at the "start" of the psychological pattern any way. Hence, with all this said, it seems safe to say that Lampe understood the human composition as comprised of an "intention-reason-will-action" pattern. Interestingly, this shows that Lampe placed a very important emphasis on reason; for reason and intention are tightly intertwined and both lie close to the "start" of the pattern. And even though sin breaks down this pattern in the human composition, Lampe understood salvation, or conversion, as a progressive regeneration of one's complete being.⁵⁴ Hence, as one grows in grace, this pattern is increasingly reoriented to its original design. In a sense then, one might say that Lampe understood a person as becoming more rational as they appropriate God's grace. In lieu of such probable thinking in Lampe, one must wonder how Ritschl could have charged all Pietists as being anti-intellectual.⁵⁵

The forth sub-category of original sin is the corruption of the body. Lampe states that the body has been corrupted by the fall in such a way that it is "idle toward the good," and an easy tool for "the carrying out of evil."⁵⁶ It is interesting that Lampe speaks of the body in the same

⁵³ "*Gemüt*," Cassel's German-English English-German Dictionary.

⁵⁴ When describing sanctification, which is the fifth step in his seven step plan of conversion (Stoeffler points out that Lampe understood "conversion" as covering the whole process of the seven step *Heilsordnung*. See: Stoeffler, German Pietism, 230.), Lampe states: "The regenerate and justified covenantal-comrade is continually transformed and is made further conformable unto all good." Cited in: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 73.

⁵⁵ See chapter II, footnote #15, on pages 37-38 above.

⁵⁶ Geheimnis, I, 88.

way as he speaks of reason and the will, etc., which is as being corrupt in its role within the human composition. One would expect that when speaking of the corruption of the physical body, that one would speak of infirmities and the like. However, though Lampe certainly understood the fall as issuing forth illness and infirmity, he does not mention it at this point.⁵⁷ The reasons for this are unclear. Perhaps Lampe is simply trying to cover "all the bases." For in the first three sub-categories he clearly expressed that all persons are corrupt in all their internal ways. Here, perhaps, he is trying to say that humans are corrupt in all their external ways as well. In any event, it is clear that Lampe held to an orthodox Reformed view of total depravity. Specifically, the crux of Lampe's doctrine of original sin is simply this: As a result of the fall, there is inherited or original sin, through which "our whole nature is condemned."⁵⁸

The second main division in human misery, or sin, is "the ultimate danger" of the "inevitable punishment."⁵⁹ Here Lampe is attributing a psychological effect to sin. For a sinner is placed into psychological agony over the thoughts of eternal punishment and death. This agony begins when the conscience frightens the sinner of her condition, and only becomes worse if the sinner continues to harden her heart to the Gospel.⁶⁰ Lampe divides this fear or agony over damnation into four elements. First, he states that "the soul has to fear" its "discharge from God's fellowship."⁶¹ Second, the soul of the sinner has to fear the "most active sensation of God's wrath...."⁶² In other words, one who is lost must fear the physical realities (i.e., "active sensations") of God's punishment; for not only will their soul be punished but their bodies will be

⁵⁷ "At this point" primarily means vol. 1, pages 78-116 of Lampe's *Geheimnis*. However, this author must confess that not all of these pages were translated for this paper. Hence, Lampe may speak about infirmity within them. However, in respect to the column notes, and several portions of the text, "infirmities" were not mentioned. In any case, this does not make void the fact that Lampe spoke about the flesh in the same way as reason, etc..

⁵⁸ Calvin cited in: T. F. Torrance, *Calvin's Doctrine of Man* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eedmans, 1957), 87.

⁵⁹ *Geheimnis*, I, 93-94.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 96-97.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I, 101.

⁶² *Ibid.*, I, 102.

as well.⁶³ Third, the agony over damnation involves the continual "tormenting [*Abfolterung*] of the conscience. Finally, the soul of the sinner will be in "constant despair over the eternity of all these vexations."⁶⁴

Three important facts (for lack of a better term) concerning Lampe's theology arise out of the above discussion on the elements of a sinner's agony. First, the fourth point clearly states that the other three elements are to be understood as eternal. This presents no new concept with points one and two, for orthodoxy has always claimed that those who enter eternity in sin will face everlasting separation from God, and eternal wrath. However, there is a unique concept evident with the attributing of eternity to point number three above. For with the application of everlastingness to point three, it appears as if Lampe understands the conscience as existing even in Hell. This is interesting, for this implies that Lampe does not see the conscience of a person as being equal to the voice of the Holy Spirit through general grace. For if one's conscience was formed through the Holy Spirit through general grace after the fall, then how could one's conscience be existent in a place separate from the Triune God (i.e., Hell)? Can the Holy Spirit speak where he is not? Can grace be in a place that is void of grace? Hence, if the tormenting of the conscience is to be everlasting for the sinner, then it must mean that the conscience has to be understood as something different than just the voice of the Holy Spirit within the soul of a person. From this logical deduction, it seems quite evident that Lampe understands conscience as a created part of humanity, which can be used as a tool by either the Holy Spirit or the Devil himself. In this sense, the human conscience is understood as an "antenna", so to speak, or as a "receiver". It simply picks up messages of wrong and right. Hence, post-fall general grace does not form a conscience, but sustains it to facilitate divine "hints" of truth and righteousness.⁶⁵ If

⁶³ In describing the "vexations" of the agony over damnation, which includes the fear of God's wrath, Lampe states: "They [sinners] will encounter body and soul." See: *Geheimnis*, I, 98. Brackets mine.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 104.

⁶⁵ This view of the conscience is similar to Calvin's, who writes: "There are two principle parts of the light which still remains in corrupt nature: first, the seed of religion is planted in all men; next, the distinction between good and evil is engraved on their consciences." Calvin cited by McNeill in footnote #2 on page 43 of McNeill's edition of Calvin's *Institutes*.

the conscience is understood in this way then it could be understood as still being tormented in the midst of eternal damnation. For in this life, a sinner's conscience is always caught between the honest conviction of the Holy Spirit and the disguised encouragement of the Devil; but in eternity, the sinner's conscience will be void of righteous conviction and will undergo continual guilt and accusation from the devil himself.

Lampe did not speak to any of this directly, but it is firmly implied, and suggests that Lampe understood conscience as an eternal part of humanity. Now, if this is taken to its full extent, the following difficulty arises. If conscience only has one voice to address it (as it would have in Hell), would it still be conscience? Does not the tension between right and wrong form a conscience? If our conscience is not understood as the Holy Spirit directly speaking of what is right amidst the "wrong" after the fall, then there is the suggestion that "right" and "wrong" are part of our created conscience. And if "right" and "wrong" are part of our created conscience, then they themselves must be created "entities". If this is the case, then that which is "wrong", or the knowledge of that which is wrong, is part of the created order. And if "full" knowledge of "right" and "wrong" came through the eating of the tree,⁶⁶ then was the eating of the tree intended for the completion of our created order? This brings us right back to the issue of whether sin is a design of God, or if it is simply an incorporated element in result of Adam's "free" disobedience. Again, though Lampe does not speak to any of this directly, there is the recurring tension of this issue within his understanding of human conscience and the agony of sin.⁶⁷

The second important fact concerning Lampe's theology, that arise out of the discussion on the elements of a sinner's agony, is that we discover reverse support for Lampe's acceptance of the concept of felicity that is found in Taffin and Untereyck.⁶⁸ In discussing the agony over damnation, it was stated how Lampe understood such agony as beginning in this life with a

⁶⁶ See Genesis 3:22.

⁶⁷ Earlier it was said that tension was an integral part to Lampe's entire theology. See pages 137-138 of this paper.

⁶⁸ See pages 96-98 of this paper.

troubled conscience. It was also said that he understood such agony as increasing as one calluses one's heart.⁶⁹ Finally, of course, one finds the agony of damnation fully realized in Hell. This progression conversely corresponds with the concept of felicity. Lampe says that felicity begins in this life, progresses with spiritual obedience, finds the beginnings of its fullness in death, and achieves its absolute completion in the resurrection. Now, if felicity is the "gift to the elect,"⁷⁰ then it only makes sense that agony is the "gift" to the lost.

The third fact concerning Lampe's theology, that arises out of the discussion on the elements of a sinner's agony, is that we find some support for Lampe's acceptance of the concept of "spiritual deadness" from Saldenus and Untereyck.⁷¹ Though a Christian is moved from the arena of agony to the one of felicity, the Christian, or the elect, is still nothing more than a sinner saved by grace, and is still in the world. Hence, it is easy to imagine that at some points in time the "old" agony over damnation must internally clash with the "new" felicity of salvation. Such a clash would naturally produce feelings of joylessness, fear, and spiritual depression. Moreover, since such clashes may occur by the nature of being "in the world but not of it," one could say that this supports Saldenus' view that God does not create such times, but allows them to naturally arise in order to "turn the attention of his people toward himself."⁷²

The third and final division in the misery of humanity, or in the universal effects of the fall, is "the ultimate weakness of the sinner."⁷³ If we were to assign one word to describe each major division within human misery, the first would be given the word "corruption", the second would be given "fear", and this division would be given the word "inability". For under this division Lampe speaks of the sinners inability to do anything righteous, or spiritual. He states:

⁶⁹ See footnote #60 above.

⁷⁰ See chapter IV, footnote #127, on page 98 above.

⁷¹ See pages 98-99 of this paper.

⁷² See chapter IV, footnote #132, on page 99 above.

⁷³ *Geheimnis*, I, 105.

The final part of the misery is the ultimate weakness [or inability] of the sinner, since he can neither fulfill the law, nor bear the punishment, nor run from the power of Satan, nor find the way to life, nor follow the same when it is pointed out to him.⁷⁴

This clearly shows Lampe's keeping with the reformational doctrine of salvation by grace through faith alone. However, immediately after stating the above, Lampe says that irregardless of all this sin and misery, the sinner is still one party in the covenant of grace.⁷⁵ Then he goes on to state that this "profundity" should move us in astonishment toward "the recognition of our own sin."⁷⁶ This recognition, which is initiated through the Holy spirit,⁷⁷ is the beginning to the steps in appropriating God's covenant of grace. Hence, this brings us to the next part in our review of Lampe's "second essential" -- the covenant of grace and one's appropriation of it.

The Covenant of Grace And One's Appropriation of It

Earlier it was said, that in discussing Lampe's "second essential", the role of humanity and a further identification of the role of the "first party" (i.e., the Trinity) would be presented;⁷⁸ and so far we have done this. For we have seen how God the Father set up a covenant of works with Adam, and how Adam disobeyed and went against that covenant. Second, from the practical side of things, we expressed how Lampe understood the Father as initiating the covenant of grace in response to Adam's disobedience. Then we provided Lampe's understanding of the universal effects of the fall. Now, at this point we must examine how God the Father specifically

⁷⁴ *Geheimnis*, I, 105-107.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 108.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 110.

⁷⁷ As Lampe states: "So as the sinner could not possibly devise a savior for himself, then it is reasonable that he not only accepts the one who is pointed out to him by God, but that he also accepts that one in the form in which he is made by God as well." (*Geheimnis*, I, 290.) In short, the Holy Spirit must "point out" Christ and the knowledge of one's sin. See pages 89-90 of this study.

⁷⁸ See page 175 above.

"responded" to Adam's disobedience and the universal effects of sin, by describing Lampe's understanding of salvation within the covenant of grace.

First (as it has been said many times before), Lampe understood Christ as the content of the covenant of grace and the Holy Spirit as the mediator of that content. In other words, the entire covenant of grace, which includes the time from Adam to Moses (or the period of the promise), from Moses to Christ (or the period of the Law), and from Christ to the end of the world (or the period of the Gospel), focuses on the reconciling work of Christ. Hence, our examination of the covenant of grace will, of course, have this same focus as well. However, this does not mean that we will look at the actual passion of Christ, but rather the work of redemption, which was made possible through the cross and resurrection, and which is now mediated to individuals through the Holy Spirit. This work of redemption, as stated earlier in light of the significance of creation,⁷⁹ was understood by Lampe as taking place in seven steps within an individual's life. Therefore, to understand the full "response" of the Trinity to the fall, or the covenant of grace, we must examine Lampe's sevenfold *Heilsordnung*. Yet, the primary context of our discourse so far on Lampe's "second essential" has been the role of humanity within God's plan. Hence, in examining God's sevenfold "response" to the fall,⁸⁰ or Lampe's *Heilsordnung*, we must also look at the designed pattern for the individual's response to God within that sevenfold scheme as well. In doing this we will see how one truly appropriates the covenant of grace.

The first step in Lampe's *Heilsordnung* is the "powerful appeal," or "effectual call."

Lampe defines this step as

⁷⁹ See chapter VI, footnote #116, on page 162 above.

⁸⁰ Here the seven step *Heilsordnung* has been equated with the covenant of grace on the following deduction: (1) The covenant of grace (i.e., the divine human covenant after the fall) has Christ as its content. (2) The purpose of Christ, according to Lampe, was to fulfill the salvation of the chosen. (3) The fulfillment of salvation comes through the merits of Christ, and these merits provide the content for the work of the Holy Spirit within Lampe's seven step *Heilsordnung*. Hence, if the *Heilsordnung* equals (3), and (3) = (2), and (2) = (1); then the *Heilsordnung* is equal to the covenant of grace; which means the *Heilsordnung*, in essence, is God's response to the fall. Also note that all of the seven major divisions in Lampe's *Heilsordnung* are taken from: O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 71-74.

that divine work of grace from God and his Spirit through which the elected sinners are not only summoned and persuaded under the presentation of the Word, but are also moved to consider rationally and powerfully, and with earnest, the transformation of their condition.⁸¹

From this definition, one can see three factors that are central to establishing the proper platform in which to present the other six components of the *Heilsordnung*. First, the "powerful appeal" is different from some other kind of call. This is evident in Lampe's use of the concession "but". He says that the "effectual call" is not only one where sinners are "summoned" and "persuaded" (or convicted), *but* that it is a call that is "effective in its results."⁸² Moreover, Lampe's statement suggest that the "other call" comes before the "effectual call." This "other call" is what Lampe defines as the "general call."⁸³ According to Lampe:

The general call is the outward presentation which God makes through the preaching of the Gospel, whereby all who hear it are summoned rationally and conclusively [or completely] in order that they may attain the salvation acquired through Christ.⁸⁴

Lampe sees the "general call" as primarily "'fruitless' for most men," but he does see it as the preparation for the elect.⁸⁵ In other words, one might say, that this call awakens the elect to the need of accepting their election. Of course, one may ask to what importance does it serve for a person who is elect to be awakened anyway, since her salvation is already decided. However, for Lampe, such a thought dismisses the integral part of human responsibility within the covenant of grace, and is incorrect theology. Humanity is not to be a "'block of stone;' God draws, and wishes that we at the same time may let ourselves be pulled."⁸⁶ Thus, the fact that Lampe distinguishes

⁸¹ Lampe cited in: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 71.

⁸² O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 294.

⁸³ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 71.

⁸⁴ Ibid. Brackets mine.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Calvin as cited in: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 71.

the "general call" from the "effectual call" is that he holds to a tension between God's total sovereignty and human free will. In viewing election, Lampe sees God as predetermining persons, or as "effectually" calling or "pulling," persons out of sin. Yet in viewing free will, or human responsibility, Lampe sees the call of God as going out to humankind in a "general" or universal way as to allow for all to respond freely. However, Lampe ultimately understood salvation as being only for the elect, and therefore, he begins his *Heilsordnung* with their "true" calling or "pulling" from God, and does not count the "general call" as their "official" beginning. Nevertheless, though the aforesaid tension may move Lampe to distinguish these calls, the "general call" still plays a small part in the call of the elect. Hence, for this reason Lampe speaks of the former under the auspices of the latter.

The second and third factors, which are central to establishing a proper platform for the other six components of the *Heilsordnung*, and which are evident from Lampe's definition of the "effectual call," as well as from its distinction from the "general call," are: (1) salvation is for the elect, and (2) the elect are to actively participate. Lampe says that the "elected sinner" is "summoned", "persuaded", and "moved". Then he says that the "elected sinner" is to "consider with earnest."⁸⁷ Both of these points have been alluded to, or directly spoken to, many times within this paper. However, they have been pointed out here in order to reiterate the tension between "containment" and "progression". The individual is contained, in that she is elect, and is "progressive," in that she must "consider" and/or decide to be "pulled" into each step of the *Heilsordnung*. This tension allows the individual "unit" to fit into the "system of parallels"; and therefore, is not only crucial for understanding the role of the individual in the *Heilsordnung*, but for understanding how the individual and the *Heilsordnung* fit into the entire "system of parallels" as well.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ See footnote #81 above.

⁸⁸ See the discussion on pages 170-172 of this paper.

After an individual receives the "effectual call" there is a series of sub-steps that moves them to and through "saving faith," which is the second step in the *Heilsordnung*. Not surprisingly, in light of the "system of parallels," and the emphasis on creation as a model for covenant progression, Lampe provides seven sub-steps in all. Interestingly, this supplies even more evidence for Lampe's continual tension between the work of God and the work of humanity. For as the *Heilsordnung* represents seven steps in the work of Christ and the Spirit, the seven sub-steps represent the work of humanity; for they are steps based solely on one's response to the "effectual call" or "awakening" of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, under "saving faith" Lampe also provides seven steps within confession. Truly, Lampe saw the appropriation of the central purpose of the covenant of grace as entirely synergistic.

According to Lampe, the "effectual call" moves one to consider the "transformation of their condition."⁸⁹ Inversely, this is the same as saying that the Holy Spirit makes one's sinful condition known -- for one can not consider the transformation of her condition unless she knows what that condition is. Accordingly, Lampe claims that the first sub-step after the "effectual call" is that one must allow the knowledge of her sin to produce a holy sorrow.⁹⁰ Second, one must allow that sorrow to form into an eagerness to accept the covenant of grace.⁹¹ This eagerness when combined with the holy sorrow produces a threefold sense of "precariousness" in the sinner.⁹² The sinner is truly sorrowful, and eager, yet he feels as if the magnitude of his sins are too great. He wants to change, but he wonders how. Then he begins to think if he has waited too long. This is the "precariousness" that is produced when one's sorrow and eagerness mixes with one's sins of the past.⁹³ But then there is the "precariousness" of the present. Here a sinner wants

⁸⁹ See footnote #81 above.

⁹⁰ Lampe states: "The knowledge of our sin must produce in us a holy sorrow." *Geheimnis*, I, 113.

⁹¹ Lampe states: "The sorrow must make us eager for the acceptance of the covenant of grace." *Ibid.*, I, 114.

⁹² "Precariousness" is the term used by Lampe.

⁹³ Lampe writes: "Now this precariousness is produced in light of the past when he [the sinner] views the magnitude and measure of his sins, or is fearful that he has waited too long." *Geheimnis*, I, 719-720. Brackets mine.

to change, but "can not come to abandon everything, or finds himself sunk far too deep in powerlessness."⁹⁴ Finally, there is the "precariousness" of the future, which is produced when a sinner's sorrow and eagerness meets with thoughts of what is ahead. Here a sinner wonders how he will maintain his walk in light of his present and past "precariousness," and wonders if he will be able to "seek counsel in order to fulfill the duties that he must subscribe to."⁹⁵

After describing all this, Lampe states that this threefold "precariousness", drives the sinner "into a corner." At this point the sinner must not deny or rebuke his condition (this is the third sub-step), but move to "subscribe to the covenant of grace" (this is the fourth sub-step). Here Lampe plainly expresses a synergistic motif in salvation; for the sinner "is driven" to the point where he "must subscribe."⁹⁶ The "driving" is done by the Holy Spirit, but the "subscribing" must be done on the part of the individual.

Once the sinner moves to subscribe to the covenant of grace, then he must conform to the "actual establishment" of that covenant.⁹⁷ In other words, the fifth sub-step is when the sinner actually agrees with the covenant of grace, or fully accepts it as the only efficient means for salvation.

In the sixth sub-step, the sinner confesses, which is the completion of one's conforming to the "actual establishment" of the covenant. All of the sub-steps are, of course, interrelated, but this step is more tightly connected with the last two sub-steps. For the fourth sub-step is the move toward confession; the fifth is a part of confession, though it is more of an internal response; and the sixth sub-step is the completion of confession with an external aspect included.

⁹⁴ *Geheimnis*, I, 721-722.

⁹⁵ Lampe states: " And in light of future times, it is when he does not seek counsel in order o fulfill the duties that he must subscribe to." *Ibid.*, I, 723-724.

⁹⁶ Lampe writes: "For this reason the sinner is so driven into a corner that he must subscribe to the covenant of grace." *Ibid.*, I, 725.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 725-728.

One must admit that there is a fine line between these three, but one can see such a line when these steps are viewed collectively under one statement by Lampe. He writes:

The sinner is so driven into a corner that he must subscribe to the covenant of grace [(i.e., the fourth sub-step)]. And therefore conforms to the actual establishment. Whose nature subsists in the agreement to the covenant of grace, normally called confession [(i.e., the fifth sub-step)], and is portrayed through the offering of confession [(i.e., the sixth sub-step)].⁹⁸

The seventh sub-step after the "effectual call", and up to and through "saving faith", is that one is to continue striving for a more "covenant-like change" after confession takes place.⁹⁹

The reason why the sub-steps have been identified as moving to and through "saving faith" is that Lampe defines "saving faith", or the second step in the *Heilsordnung*, as

that work of grace of God and His Spirit, through which the will of sinners called according to his purpose is inclined rationally and powerfully, in order that Christians may receive according to the sign of the Gospel alone and completely a perfect Savior.¹⁰⁰

From this definition one can see that Lampe describes "saving faith" as the act of grace that powerfully and rationally inclines, or bends, the will of a called sinner, or of one who is elect; so that the elect, once believing (which "makes" the elected sinner a Christian), may fully receive the benefits of Christ. This is nothing more than describing the divine side of the sub-steps just mentioned. In one sense, all the sub-steps can be looked at as falling under the step of "saving faith." For they express the "bending of the will" and the moving of the Holy Spirit. More particularly, the movement from sorrow to eagerness, and from the realization of one's "precariousness" to subscribing to the covenant of grace, fits the description of being powerfully and rationally inclined. In this sense, the sub-steps flow with and in "saving faith."

From another perspective, sorrow, eagerness and one's "precariousness" puts a sinner in "a corner", and motivates him to move to subscribe to the covenant of grace, and this movement

⁹⁸ *Geheimnis*, I, 725-728. Brackets mine.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 746. Also see the discussion concerning the influence of Lodensteyn on pages 90-91 of this study.

¹⁰⁰ Lampe as cited in: O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 71.

might be seen as when "saving faith" begins. In this view, the first three sub-steps represent the link between the "effectual call" and "saving faith;" and the last three sub-steps represents a growth past "saving faith". Hence, the sub-steps are seen as moving *to* and *through* "saving faith." It appears as if Lampe adheres to this view, because he does not claim the actual transition into the covenant of grace, or confession, as taking place until the third major step in his *Heilsordnung*, which is "regeneration." Unfortunately, Lampe is not clear on how all the sub-categories are to coincide with the major divisions of his *Heilsordnung*. In fact, Lampe does not use the language of sub-categories at all, rather he simply carries on two discussions at once. One discourse is on the "effectual call" and "saving faith" from the perspective of what the Holy Spirit does, and the other discourse is on the same topics, but from the perspective of what the individual should do.¹⁰¹ Yet, despite all the unclarity, and regardless of whether one sees the sub-steps as being in "saving faith", or as flowing to and through "saving faith", the importance here is that Lampe saw confession as stemming from grace and human decision.

In further identifying Lampe's understanding of "saving faith," O'Malley points out that Lampe divided it into two steps. He states:

In his *Balm of Gilead*, Lampe distinguishes two steps: first, the act of taking shelter in Christ, and second, the actual trust in Christ. Lampe, with his developmental point of view, defends the weaker faith as real faith, though it is quantitatively less efficacious than stronger faith.¹⁰²

Interestingly, this identification of a stronger and weaker faith corresponds to the fourth and fifth sub-steps mentioned earlier. The fourth sub-step was defined as when one moves to subscribe to the covenant of grace after one has been placed into "a corner " by one's own "precariousness". This sounds very much like the way Lampe describes one of weaker faith. He says that one with weaker faith is like "a fugitive in peril of life who, in sighting a fortress, hastens 'with ardent longing' to its shelter...."¹⁰³ Furthermore, the fifth sub-step was defined as when the sinner agrees

¹⁰¹ See: *Geheimnis*, I, 713-752.

¹⁰² O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 72.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* Also see: O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 295.

with the covenant of grace, or fully accepts it, as the only efficient means for salvation. This sounds similar to Lampe's description of one who has a stronger faith as being one who takes "actual possession". These parallels simply reiterate Lampe's synergistic approach. From one angle he speaks of the level and/or progression of faith, which is a gift from God; from another angle he speaks of the level and/or progression of human response.

The third step in Lampe's *Heilsordnung* is regeneration. According to Lampe, regeneration is

that work of grace by God and His Spirit whereby the elected sinner powerfully and all at once is transferred to the good and is actually brought from the situation of a sinner into the situation of grace.¹⁰⁴

Earlier it was said, in discussing the seven sub-steps that flow to and through "saving faith", that one's full "agreement to the covenant of grace" takes place at the moment of full confession (meaning at the moment of true belief).¹⁰⁵ Now, when one moves to accept the covenant of grace, is this not the same as being "transferred to the good"; or more particularly, is not the moving from one's precarious "corner" to the full acceptance of the covenant of grace, the same as being "brought from the situation of a sinner into the situation of grace"? There is no doubt that these expressions mean the same thing. Hence, confession must take place under this step.

As stated earlier, Lampe sees seven steps, or aspects, within confession itself. He states that confession

must take place: (1) rationally, with mature reflection; (2) voluntarily; (3) in poverty of spirit, whereby a person brings nothing, nor desires to bring anything with him; (4) in belief in the name of the Lord Jesus; (5) in heart sincerity; (6)

¹⁰⁴ Lampe cited by O'Malley. See: O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 72.

¹⁰⁵ Lampe states: "The actual time of the establishment [of the covenant of grace] is just as soon as the belief begins." (*Geheimnis*, I, 741. Brackets by Lampe.) And according to the sixth point in confession: confession must take place with "a secret action of the soul" or with belief. Hence, the covenant of grace is fully established at the point of full confession (meaning when all of its seven points have been enacted). See the citation that corresponds to footnote #106 below.

inwardly, through a secret action of the soul; and (7) it must take place on the entire covenant, not only according to its demands, but also to its promises.¹⁰⁶

Now, these seven points may be viewed as aspects, in that they all may take place within the same time. However, if the seven points are viewed as steps in a temporal progression, then it brings some added significance to why Lampe placed justification after regeneration. For as the Spirit is moving one through confession, he is regenerating that person, or transforming that person; and upon a full confession, one is fully regenerated or justified. Unfortunately, Lampe, does not state whether the seven points in confession are to be understood as distinguishable aspects of a single action, or as a sequence of tightly interrelated steps. Nevertheless, what is of importance here, is that once again Lampe overlaps human action with the action of the Spirit -- while the Spirit regenerates, the individual confesses and believes.

As alluded to above, justification is the forth step in Lampe's *Heilsordnung*. Lampe describes justification as "a pure good," and as the imputation of Christ's righteousness," which is accepted "with a believing heart."¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, for Lampe, justification is the completion of regeneration and the inauguration of sanctification.

The fifth step in Lampe's *Heilsordnung* is sanctification. In defining this stage, Lampe writes:

[In sanctification] the regenerate and justified covenantal-comrade is continually transformed and is made further conformable unto all good.¹⁰⁸

In sanctification, there are three levels to consider.¹⁰⁹ First, there is an ongoing struggle with outward temptations, persecutions, and the inward temptations and hauntings of "secret sins."¹¹⁰ However, with trust in the grace of God, and earnestness in the means of grace provided, one can

¹⁰⁶ *Geheimnis*, I, 732-739.

¹⁰⁷ O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 73.

¹⁰⁸ Lampe cited in: *Ibid.* Brackets mine.

¹⁰⁹ See: O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 314-318. Also see: Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 230-231.

¹¹⁰ O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 314.

move into the next level of sanctification and holiness;¹¹¹ which is the level of "new obedience,"¹¹² or "true obedience."¹¹³ This is a stage of ongoing obedience, in which the Christian "is not free from temptation and [persecution, etc.], but in which he does have the equipment to practice the Christian virtues...."¹¹⁴ Moreover, "the believer is 'set apart for a spiritual battle to be waged against the world, sin, and the devil and his angels.'"¹¹⁵ In this stage one is to practice obedience to the covenant of grace as Adam was intended to practice obedience to the covenant of works. In other words, one is to practice obedience from a basis of love and obligation, and for the sake of maintaining righteousness or holiness.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, grace provides the power to obey, and obedience nurtures grace. As Lampe writes:

Holiness is nothing other than the love of God.... Being made holy is the result of the love of God being awakened and nurtured. [Now,] the duties that belong to [holiness] form a long chain.... The manner in which these duties must be rendered consists of four aspects: their source must be a heart that is purified through faith..., the guideline must be the law of God..., the purpose must be the glory of God and his blessedness.... However, holiness is a benefit of the covenant of grace,... and such a gift must certainly also be regarded [by the disciple] as a duty....¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Lampe writes: "In sanctification we can be brought very near to the goal if we only want earnestly to receive the means at hand." (O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 73.) Lampe claims that there are nine means of grace. He writes: "Among the means to be used, the most prominent are nine in number.... These include (1) prayer for our sanctification... (2) observing the Word of God for the purpose of becoming holy... [(3) the offering of] holy thanks to [God]... (4) a daily self-examination... (5) a daily repentance over new sins... (6) a frequent renewal of one's covenant with God... (a focus upon Jesus with the eyes of faith and discipleship... (8) [the] being wholly given over to the leadings of the Holy Spirit... [and] (9) an intimate friendship with other sanctified persons...." Brackets mine. Cited in: O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 319-320.

¹¹² Stoeffler, German Pietism, 230.

¹¹³ O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 314.

¹¹⁴ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 230. Brackets mine.

¹¹⁵ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 73.

¹¹⁶ See pages 182-184 of this paper. Also see the discussion concerning good works and self denial on pages 101-103 of this paper.

¹¹⁷ Lampe cited in: O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 313, 314-315. Brackets mine. Last bracket by O'Malley.

The third level of sanctification is a "legal or an evangelical perfection."¹¹⁸ This level represents the highest experiential aspect within Lampe's understanding of salvation and regards a condition in which a person's "whole existence is completely conformed to God's will."¹¹⁹ This level is sub-divided into the "perfection in intention", and the "perfection of achievement".¹²⁰ The former is when a person, "insofar as he is able, ...leaves aside all those ways that are evil, he loves God above all things, and fulfills all the duties of obedience."¹²¹ Concerning the latter (i.e., "perfection of achievement"), Lampe states:

The perfection of achievement manifests itself neither through some of the particular aspects of obedience, ...nor in comparison with others who are further behind in their progress, ...nor in all those aspects that we have observed in this discussion [concerning sanctification].... By contrast, the more rare such a condition is, the more difficult it is for us to describe it adequately.... Such a perfection comes near to the stages of glorification, and it can be attained in this life.... I greatly desire this in faith and simplicity, but I myself have not yet experienced this kind of perfection. This comes down to us through God's full mercy. It is a condition among those who are set free of bodily cares and find themselves already coming quite near to the splendor of suspended souls.¹²²

In short, this sub-division of "evangelical perfection" is not only where one's intentions are totally oriented toward obedience in Christ, but one's acts of obedience are achieved in perfect holiness as well. In other words, at this level, one's life is so permeated by the Holy Spirit that one's outward service is in full harmony with one's intentions, and one's intentions are in full harmony

¹¹⁸ O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 317.

¹¹⁹ Stoeffler, German Pietism, 231. Also see page 91 of this paper.

¹²⁰ O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 317. It is interesting that this division in sanctification aligns itself with the "intention-reason-will-action" pattern discussed on pages 187-188 of this paper. If the aforementioned pattern makes up the whole composition, or existence, of a person, and if sanctification, as claimed in footnote #119 above, deals with one's whole existence as well, then it follows that sanctification would adhere to the "intention-reason-will-action" pattern. Hence, sanctification would start with rectifying intention (i.e., perfection of intention), and then move toward producing holy actions, or toward the achievement of one's rectified intentions (i.e., perfection of achievement). Though this connection is not explicitly found in Lampe, it still supports that Lampe implicitly understood the human composition as following the "intention-reason-will-action pattern".

¹²¹ Lampe cited in: Ibid.

¹²² Lampe cited in: Ibid., 317-318.

with the Spirit of God. Here there is a perfect cooperation between grace, or the source of obedience, and obedience itself, which is one's response to grace.

The above citation makes it clear that Lampe understood the "perfection of achievement" as the highest goal in the progression of the individual Christian.¹²³ With this understanding, and with his comprehension of seeing the progression of an individual as having a part in salvation history;¹²⁴ it is not surprising that Lampe understood the key task of a pastor to be the ability "to discern where each person is in relation to this '*Ordnung*,' and to assist that person in ascending from one step to the next, as each is by grace made ready...;"¹²⁵ so that each person might someday arrive at, and continue in, the "perfection of achievement", and that the coming of the kingdom of God would be fulfilled in its proper time as well.¹²⁶

The next step in Lampe's *Heilsordnung* is "sealing," which is "the consequence of sanctification."¹²⁷ Lampe, defines this step as

the last work of grace by God and especially by the Holy Spirit, whereby the sanctified covenant comrade is perpetually established in the position of grace, and by his confirmation, receives an assurance in his soul for the awakening of a living hope.¹²⁸

¹²³Here we have an example of the third true trait in the proper definition of historic Pietism -- "religious idealism". See pages 41-42 of this paper.

¹²⁴ Concerning Lampe's views on this point, O'Malley states: "One's personal pilgrimage of faith thereby has significance not only for one's personal destiny, but also as a strategic component in the final, total transformation of the world through Christ. Since this is also a coming *moral* transformation of history, it is fitting that the disciple's pilgrimage be one of growing holiness unto the Lord." O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 297. Also see the earlier discussion on the "unit" of the individual within the "system of parallels." This discussion provides this author's perspective on what makes the connection between an individual and history and what impact the individual can really make. See pages 170-172 above. Also see footnote #132 in Part IV.

¹²⁵ O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 294.

¹²⁶ See chapter IX, footnote #132, on page 319 below.

¹²⁷ O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 74.

¹²⁸ Lampe cited in: *Ibid.*

In other words, in this stage, it is impossible for a Christian to become lost, rather he/she is "upheld without failing."¹²⁹ In short, this stage represents the "final perseverance of the saints," or the "P" in the T.U.L.I.P. doctrine of the Synod of Dort.¹³⁰

It was said earlier that "evangelical perfection," was the highest experiential level in a Christian's progression. Yet here Lampe states that "sealing" produces an assurance in one's soul. Thus, there appears to be a contradiction at this point. However, in actuality, there is no contradiction; for the assurance mentioned here is the strengthening of what is produced through faith. According to Lampe, "assurance pertains to actual trust" in Christ, and is "the fruit of faith."¹³¹ Assurance then, begins with regeneration and grows to and through "sealing." Therefore, "sealing" does not produce assurance, but solidifies it. Now, Lampe says that such a solidification produces "comfort to the Christian amid temptations, difficulties, illness and death."¹³² Hence, would this not make "sealing" the highest experiential reality in the *Heilsordnung*? The answer here is yes and no. It is "yes" in that a Christian experiences one of the byproducts of "sealing" -- comfort. But the answer is "no" in that "sealing" in and of itself is not actually experienced, or realized until glorification. One may have assurance of one's "sealing," but the actual substantiation of that "sealing" is produced in glorification. In contrast to this, "evangelical perfection" involves visible "proofs," or "substantiations" in this life. In sanctification, or "evangelical perfection," one continually produces external evidences of her maturing internal transformation. On the other hand, however, Lampe does not clearly state that "sealing" itself adds to such external evidences. He only states that there is an increased comfort and assurance in the soul. And this may, or may not, manifest itself externally, and may not be quantitatively or qualitatively different than that which is experienced under "evangelical

¹²⁹ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 74.

¹³⁰ For a quick review of the T.U.L.I.P. doctrine see pages 24-25 of this paper. Also see O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 74, footnote #209.

¹³¹ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of faith, 72.

¹³² Ibid., 74.

perfection." Hence, in light of all this, and in light of the fact that "sealing" is a "given" upon a continual growth in grace (or, in other words, is the consequence of sanctification), it comes as no surprise that Stoeffler claims that sanctification is the highest experiential level in Lampe's *Heilsordnung*.¹³³

As the Christian concludes his progression in salvation, he comes to "the last work of grace of the trinitarian God"¹³⁴ -- glorification. Lampe defines this seventh and last stage as the degree of grace, whereby

the soul of the true covenant-comrade will be restored in full possession of the acquired highest bliss with Christ first at the day of death and hereafter at the day of the general resurrection and judgment, when the entire nature of man will be restored according to body and soul.¹³⁵

From the above citation we immediately see two things in Lampe's understanding of glorification. First, he sees one's soul as immediately being in a place of bliss with Christ, and does not speculate to where this place may be. Hence, Lampe goes against the Psychopannychists, who taught that the soul sleeps after death; and he goes against any who would over speculate concerning matters of mystery.¹³⁶ The second thing that we see in the seventh step of Lampe's *Heilsordnung* is more evidence concerning Lampe's adherence to the concept of felicity derived from Untereyck and Taffin. In the quotation above, it is clear that Lampe sees felicity, or bliss, as having its beginnings in death and its completion in the final resurrection.¹³⁷

The after death progression in felicity has significant ramifications for our study; for it supplies evidence for the argument which claims that Lampe employed the "system of parallels" as the framework to his covenantal theology. There are three factors which come together to

¹³³ See footnote #119 above.

¹³⁴ O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 74.

¹³⁵ Lampe cited in: *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ See pages 96-98 of this paper.

produce the evidence being spoken of here. First, death, which is of course part of Lampe's seventh stage, in that it is the preamble to glorification or damnation, can be understood as an individual "Last Judgment." This understanding is implied by the fact that once a person dies, the Last Judgment is, in all practical terms, put into effect.¹³⁸ Second, according to Lampe's statement above, an individual experiences the beginnings of felicity after her personal "Last Judgment" (or death).¹³⁹ Then following this, there is the final or general resurrection, where one's felicity is completed. In this context, the resurrection can be seen as either the consummation of one's personal "Last Judgment," or as another Judgment coming after one's own death. Third, Lampe makes it clear that the final judgment, or general resurrection, is where "the entire nature of man is restored." Hence, the emphasis in glorification is on renewal and transformation.

In synthesis, these three factors provide support for the "system of parallels" in that Lampe speaks of the cosmic Last Judgment of History in the same way.¹⁴⁰ First, Lampe understands the Last Judgment mentioned in Rev. 20:11-15¹⁴¹ as either the consummation of the Judgment preceding the Millennium, or as a judgment that is to be followed by an ultimate judgment not

¹³⁸ James P. Martin suggests that Pietism displaced the emphasis of the Last Judgment from a cosmic eschatological category to one of an individual category. In other words, there is an immediate Last Judgment, in that one's life is very short, and that one can never know when death will come upon one's self. [See James P. Martin, The Last Judgment in Protestant Theology from Orthodoxy to Ritschl (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1963), 70.] Though it will be shown later that Lampe does in fact place a sense of immediacy on the cosmic Last Judgment, and thus, places an ethical sanction on it, there is no doubt that he also understood death as being somewhat synonymous to the Last Judgment -- "for once a person dies, the Last Judgment is, in all practical terms, put into effect." See "Synthesis and Conclusion" of Part IV of this paper.

¹³⁹ See footnote #135 above.

¹⁴⁰ See: Geheimnis, V, 869 ff.. Also see pages 314 ff. below.

¹⁴¹ Revelation 20:11-15 states: "Then I saw a great white throne and the one who sat on it; the earth and the heaven fled from his presence, and no place was found for them. And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne, and books were opened. Also another book was opened, the book of life. And the dead were judged according to their works, as recorded in the books. And the sea gave up the dead that were in it, Death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and all were judged according to what they had done. Then Death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire. This is the second death, the lake of fire; and anyone whose name was not found written in the book of life was thrown into the lake of fire...." (NRSV) Also see paragraph XXIV in Part IV of this paper.

mentioned in scripture.¹⁴² In either case, we have a parallel to the concept presented in the preceding paragraph. For example, under the first scenario we have the following: A person's death, or more specifically, a Christian's death, is symbolically parallel to the first resurrection mentioned in Rev. 20:4-6.¹⁴³ This is so because a Christian, in a sense, is not dying but rising to the beginnings of the "highest bliss... at the day of death."¹⁴⁴ Accordingly, the Millennium, would be a symbolic representation of one's blissful state until the final resurrection. Lampe says that during the Millennium, the Church will be free of temptation, persecution, and will enjoy peace and security. Furthermore, Lampe states that at the same time, there will be those left outside of the Church's fellowship. Of course, an individual's time of bliss after death can fit all of this as well. For it also will be peaceful, secure, and free from both temptation and persecution. Moreover, there will be others who, if living, will feel the torments of this life; and if dead in sin, will feel the torments of hell. Finally, in keeping with the first scenario (i.e., that Rev. 20:11-15 is in fact the Final Judgment), Rev. 20: 11-15 is not only the consummation of the blissfulness of the Millennium, but it is also understood as the total restoration of all things -- a New Heaven and a New Earth. Likewise, in keeping with the parallel, the final resurrection, or Rev. 20:11-15, is of course, the consummation of one's blissfulness in death, and the total transformation, or restoration, of one's "entire nature."¹⁴⁵

If the second scenario (i.e., that Rev. 21:11-15 is not the Last Judgment) is taken, then we have the following parallel: First, Rev. 20:11-15 corresponds to one's death, and the New

¹⁴² See "Synthesis and Conclusion" of Part IV of this paper.

¹⁴³ Revelation 20:4-6 states: "Then I saw thrones, and those seated on them were given authority to judge. I also saw the souls of those who had been beheaded for their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God. They had not worshipped the beast or its image and had not received its mark on their foreheads or their hands. They came to life and reigned with Christ a thousand years. (The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended.) This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy are those who share in the first resurrection. Over these the second death has no power, but they will be priests of God and of Christ, and they will reign with him a thousand years." (NRSV)

¹⁴⁴ See footnote #135 above.

¹⁴⁵ Again, see footnote #135 above.

Jerusalem passages, or Rev. 21 and 22 corresponds to one's blissfulness after death. Second, under this view, there is an "eighth day" in history, for the world has been totally transformed, yet it still awaits a final judgment.¹⁴⁶ Likewise, one could speak of death in similar terms as well. For example, in one sense, there is the total transformation at the time of death; for one moves from a known existence to an unknown (at least from the human perspective); and within the realm of blissfulness after death, one will await the final judgment. Yet, at that point, the final judgment, or the consummation of one's blissfulness, will not be of an ultimate concern. Similarly, if one holds to Rev. 20:11-15 as a pre-ultimate cosmic judgment, then the final cosmic judgment should appear as no great concern as well; since all of humanity is to be dealt with in Rev. 20:11-15 anyway, and consequently, the elect will already be in a state of blissfulness. In other words, as one may not be mindful of the final consummation of her blissfulness while in a state of blissfulness, neither may the Church be mindful of the ultimate judgment within the blissful period of Rev. 21 and 22.

Even though Lampe did not state these parallels in this fashion, it has been shown that such parallels do exist. Now, one might say that comparing an individual's death with the end of the world will naturally produce such parallels. This is true. But if one includes the concepts of containment and progression; the "open-endedness" of history and the Last Judgment; the similar terminology; and the strict parallels in the use of the sevenfold system within history and the *Heilsordnung*; then there is strong support that Lampe saw such parallels in glorification as expressing a noncoincidental link between the individual and history. Therefore, with all this said, the role of the individual within history becomes more clear: For it is not so much that a person moves history; rather, when accepting Christ, or the purpose of history, one enters into the flow of history. Subsequently, one's actions are then incorporated and utilized within it. However, if one does not enter into history (or accepts Christ), then one is left out of God's full covenantal plan. Consequently, one's own glorification will not come about; and in some sense, the

¹⁴⁶ See: *Geheimnis*, V, 874-875. Also see point #3 on pages 317-318 below.

glorification of history is hindered, in so far as one is left out of its motion. Again, all of this is not stated this way by Lampe, but the category of thought is strongly present, especially within the seventh step of his *Heilsordnung*.

Two additional facts must be addressed concerning the *Heilsordnung*, in order to add even more strength to the "system of parallels" motif. First, according to Lampe the entire process of salvation is considered as one's conversion.¹⁴⁷ This directly corresponds to his understanding of history. For as history is one vast moment that contains its various epochs in time; so the *Heilsordnung* is one conversion, or one event, that contains its epoch shifts along the way as well.

The second fact to point out is that Lampe's *Heilsordnung* fully expresses his working tension between the role of the first covenant partner (i.e., the triune God) and the second (i.e., the individual). In examining the "effectual call" we saw how it was based on the premise of election, yet there was a progression of seven steps, in which one was to move in order to advance to and through "saving faith." Furthermore, we saw that though the re-birth, or regeneration is the work of the Spirit, there are seven steps in conversion, which a person must experience and/or carry out in order to appropriate that blessing of the Holy Spirit. In addition, we identified how sanctification is rooted in God, and how the power to perform spiritual disciplines come from and through grace. Yet, Lampe clearly expressed that one must respond, by earnestly employing the means of grace available. Hence, throughout the *Heilsordnung*, Lampe clearly shows that salvation is both the gift of God and the work of the individual. The full significance of this point comes into play when it is viewed in light of the "system of parallels." For if the *Heilsordnung* fully "mirrors", or parallels history, then could not one say that history is the gift of God and the work of the individual as well?

¹⁴⁷ Stoeffler states: "Accordingly he [Lampe] thinks of the term 'conversion' as covering the whole process of progressive religious maturation which is experienced by the individual Christian. Of this process the word 're-birth' designates the beginning, while the term 'sanctification' stands for its continuance." Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 230. Brackets mine.

As God provides seven steps for the individual perfection of his people, he also provides seven steps for the perfection of history (These seven steps, or periods in history, will be presented in Part IV of this paper.).¹⁴⁸ But what makes history move through its steps, or periods, in order to be perfected? If one keeps with the "system of parallels," then the answer must be the Holy Spirit, and human response, or activity -- for the motion of the *Heilsordnung* is dependent on the Holy Spirit, and human response. Particularly, it can be said that history moves by a cooperation between the Holy Spirit through the instrumentation of time,¹⁴⁹ and human activity. The seven epoch periods in history come about when epoch events take place; and these events, though planned by God, like the particulars of the *Heilsordnung* (i.e., the sub-steps, etc.), are formed by the intersecting of time and human responses to the world around them. Hence, humans do have a part in history. However, the exact, or full, impact that one has in history is unclear. Yet, one should not question if whether they really effect anything in history or not; just like one should not ask if they are really one of the elect or not while moving within the *Heilsordnung*.¹⁵⁰ Rather, one should simply see that there is enough evidence to support that individuals do play a part in history and the advancing of the Kingdom of God. This evidence

¹⁴⁸ It is clear that Lampe understood history as becoming perfected, or glorified, as it proceeds through each stage of history. This is evident by his language in chapter thirteen of book five of his *Geheimnis*. Specifically, in paragraph XXVII of this chapter, Lampe uses the phrases, "the glorification of the Church," and "degrees of glorification," when speaking of the final stage of world history. One may object here, and say that Lampe is speaking of the perfection of the Church and not history as a whole. However, Lampe understood church history as being primarily built on secular sources (See: Möller, 418.); and saw every possible secular event as being explained as fulfillment of prophecy (See: Möller, 417.). Hence, when Lampe is speaking of the glorification of the Church and the future fulfillment of promises concerning it, in his chapter on eschatology, he is also talking about the glorification of all secular events, and their final role within the fulfillment of the final prophecies. Thus, such phrases as "degrees of glorification", pertain to all of history. See: *Geheimnis*, V, 876-877.

¹⁴⁹ See pages 159 ff. of this paper.

¹⁵⁰ According to Lampe, and as stated by O'Malley: "God does not 'send an angel from heaven' to assure us of our election, for he wills that we should strive with patience for eternal life by means of good works...." (O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 70.) Hence, in keeping with the "system of parallels," it seems safe to say, that God does not 'send an angel from heaven' to assure us of our role in history, for he wills that we should strive to advance the kingdom of God with patience and by the means of good works as well. Therefore, one should not question their election, or their place in history, but simply respond to God's grace in trust and confidence. For as far as election is concerned, "God can allow His grace to appear to [the] gravest sinners even in the last hour...." (*Ibid.*) And as far as one's role in history is concerned, God can graciously use any one, "even in the last hour."

consists in the numerous sevenfold parallels in Lampe's system, and the two-party motif within the concept of covenant. In short, it appears that Lampe understood the following relationship: As one appropriates Christ through the *Heilsordnung*, then one, by extension through the "system of parallels," which is based on the concept of covenant, the sevenfold model of creation, and the aspects of "containment" and "development" within revelation, appropriates the entire cosmic plan of God as well. Hence, one's link to history is the *Hielsordnung*; and the level in which we desire and utilize grace within the *Hielsordnung*, is proportionate, by virtue of the "system of parallels," to the level of our impact in and on history.

In completing our review of Lampe's *Heilsordnung*, we have concluded our investigation into his "second essential." Let us now compare his "second essential" to Calvin and Cocceius, in order to discover Lampe's particular nuances, and to establish his thought concerning the thesis topic. After making our brief comparisons, we will move on to discuss Lampe's doctrine of election, or his System B of grace. Then we will synthesize all the material presented, and complete our identification of Lampe's theological framework, and of the underlying aspects of "containment" and "progression." However, for the sake of continuity, a brief review of Lampe's "second essential" is required before proceeding further.

In the preceding discourse, it was noted that the following factors exist within the "second essential," which primarily speaks to the post-creation progression of the pre-temporal covenant:¹⁵¹ (1) From the perspective of temporal reality, Lampe understands that there are two covenants -- the covenant of works, and the covenant of grace. (2) The covenant of works was set up with Adam in his innocence, and integrity. He was able to exercise free will, and therefore could maintain his righteous state. If he obeyed on the basis of his "co-equal" covenant partnership with God, then Adam would experience felicity and everlasting life. (3) Adam's obedience, was to be based on a love for God, and a trust in the latter's terms. This obedience is still our model within the covenant of grace. (4) Because of Adam's modeling role in the

¹⁵¹ See pages 125 ff. above.

covenant of works, it becomes evident, that man was, and still is, to have a role within the covenant processes of God. (5) When Adam sinned, the covenant of works was abrogated, and the covenant of grace was established. The covenant of grace is a complete gift of God, and because of God's decision not to destroy humanity after the fall, the fall becomes incorporated into the overall scheme of things as the transition between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. Furthermore, because the fall was in direct response to Adam's disobedience, humanity is seen as "producing" the transition into the covenant of grace as well. From the perspective of a pre-temporal eternal plan, God's "incorporation" of the fall may appear as if disobedience and sin are a part of God's direct design. However, from the perspective of Adam and the divine-human temporal covenant, the fall is a break in the covenant relationship and is contrary to God's plans. Lampe leaves this tension, unresolved, and simply holds to both as being two sides of the same coin. (6) Lampe divides the effects of the fall into three categories -- original sin, the "ultimate danger", and the "ultimate weakness". Original sin is the corruption of one's intentions, reason, will, and actions. The "ultimate danger" is the fear of eternal damnation, and the wrath of God. The "ultimate weakness" is the sinner's inability to do anything noble, good, or spiritually wholesome. Interestingly, in dividing the effects of the fall in such a way, Lampe develops a unique psychological category within the doctrine of sin, which non-coincidentally corresponds to his practical Pietistic concerns in the tradition of Lodesteyn and Untereyck. (7) The elect are redeemed and delivered from these effects, except for temptation, persecution and natural infirmity, by appropriating the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit through God's plan of salvation. This plan, or the *Heilsordnung*, has seven steps, which is based on the modeled order of creation. These seven steps are: (a) the "effectual call," in which the elect are summoned and persuaded with earnest; (b) "saving faith," where the sinner actually begins to take hold of the covenant of grace; (c) "regeneration," where one is transferred all at once to "the good;" (d) "justification," where Christ graciously establishes the covenant of grace within the believer; (e) "sanctification," where one continual seeks a "covenant-like change"; (f) "sealing," where one is permanently secured in the "station of grace;" and (g), "glorification," where the

covenant partner takes hold of the "highest bliss". (8) The *Heilsordnung* is a working model of the tension within Lampe's whole theological system; for within the seven steps of grace, there are sub-steps that speak to one's response to those levels of grace. Finally, (9) in light of the analogies between the seven days of creation and the seven steps in the *Heilsordnung*, and the seven days of creation and the seven periods of history, Lampe sees a connection between the cosmic history of redemption and the inner life of the individual.¹⁵² Hence, as one appropriates Christ through the *Heilsordnung*, one appropriates the entire history of the covenant of grace; and subsequently becomes a participant, and/or plays a role, within its future history as well.

Comparative Analyses and Additional Contributions to Lampe's "Second Essential"

A Comparative Analysis with John Calvin

Under the discussion of the "first essential," it was pointed out that Calvin did not speak directly to the concept of a pre-temporal covenant among the members of the Trinity. However, it was shown that the "roots" to such thinking were evident within his writings. Similarly, Calvin does not directly speak of a covenant of works between Adam and God;¹⁵³ yet the "roots" for this formulation are still identifiable with him.

The way that one can identify the covenant of works within Calvin is by looking for evidence of the "federal principle" within his writings, for the "federal principle" and the covenant of works are inseparable. If Adam is identified as a "federal head," then he must be in a legal arrangement that would establish and accommodate such a position. For by being placed in the parameters of threats and promises on the bases of obedience, Adam is placed under a test, or a

¹⁵² See: O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 70-71.

¹⁵³ When speaking of the covenant of works, Helm states: "The covenant theologians may be said to go beyond Calvin in the way in which they formalize and systematize their position, but there is no evidence to suggest that they contradict what Calvin says in any respect.... It is true that Calvin does not use the phrases 'covenant of works' and 'covenant of grace', but the significance of this is small." Helm, 75.

probational period. The prototype of humanity, so to speak, is being tested out; and in being a tested prototype, Adam represents the rest of the "production line". Hence, an "arena of testing" accommodates a representative role by Adam. Moreover, if Adam is understood as having a true capability in maintaining his state of integrity, then it only makes sense that such maintenance take place through his own effort, or through his own works. Hence, to find the covenant of works in Calvin, one should ask: Did Calvin understand Adam to be in an "arena of testing?" And did Calvin understand Adam as being fully capable of his own obedience?

The answers to these questions are yes. First, it is clear that Calvin understands Adam as being placed within the parameters of certain threats and promises, or within an "arena of testing," for he states:

Adam was denied the tree of the knowledge of good and evil to *test* his obedience and prove that he was willingly under God's command.... [The] promise by which he was bidden to hope for eternal life so long as he ate from the tree of life, and, conversely, the terrible threat of death once he tasted of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, served to prove and *exercise* his faith.¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, Calvin plainly identifies Adam's "testing" as prototypical for us all:

The natural order was that the frame of the universe should be the *school* in which we were to learn piety, and from it pass over to eternal life and perfect felicity. But after man's rebellion, our eyes -- wherever they turn -- encounter God's course.¹⁵⁵ For as Adam at his creation had received for us as well as for himself the gifts of God's favor, so by falling away from the Lord, he in himself corrupted, vitiated, depraved and ruined our nature.¹⁵⁶

Second, Calvin understood Adam as being fully capable of maintaining his state of righteousness. He says that Adam was

¹⁵⁴ Calvin cited in: Helm, 73-74. Also see: *Institutes*, II.1.4; McNeill's ed., 245. Emphases mine.

¹⁵⁵ *Institutes*, II.6.1; McNeill's ed., 341. Emphasis mine.

¹⁵⁶ Calvin cited in: Helm, 75.

endued with understanding and reason, that being distinguished from brute animals he might meditate on a better life, and might even tend directly towards God, whose image he bore engraven on his own person.¹⁵⁷

Hence, even though Calvin spoke more directly of Adam as humanity's physical, or realistic, father,¹⁵⁸ in light of these quotations, it is evident that he also understood Adam to be our "federal head". And in presenting Adam in the latter way, Calvin is providing the "roots" for the doctrine the covenant of works. Therefore, Lampe, with his doctrine of a covenant of works, is simply building upon that which Calvin himself presented.

So far we have seen that Calvin did in fact have an understanding of a covenant of works, and that he understood Adam as our federal representative. Furthermore, we have seen how Calvin understood Adam to have had the ability to maintain his integrity. Now, if Calvin did hold to all of these things, then it would imply that he sees human responsibility as an integral part of God's plan. This is said for the obvious reason that if Adam really had the ability to respond freely, and he was our representative, then it would mean that God intended humanity to participate in the original scheme of things. However, does Calvin, like Lampe, continue to see human responsibility as an integral part between the divine-human relationship after the fall? The answer here is yes. Calvin boldly claims the same tension between human response and divine predeterminism that we saw Lampe as holding,¹⁵⁹ when he writes:

Indeed, in all covenants of his mercy the Lord requires of his servants in return uprightness and sanctity of life, lest his goodness be mocked.... Consequently, in this way he wills to keep in their duty those admitted to the fellowship of the covenant....¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Calvin cited in: Helm, 74.

¹⁵⁸ Helm states: "On the relation between Adam and the human race Calvin in general followed Augustine and Anselm in conceiving of that relationship realistically rather than representatively." (Helm, 71.) Hence, in light of this note and the information above (in the body of the paper), it becomes evident that Calvin understood Adam under both the representational and realistic views. Lampe held to both as well. However, where Calvin puts more emphasis on the realistic connection, Lampe puts more emphasis on the representational one. See footnote #22 above.

¹⁵⁹ See the earlier discussion on the steps within the *Heilsordnung* on pages 193 ff..

¹⁶⁰ Calvin cited in: Hoekema, "The Covenant of Grace in Calvin's Teaching," 143.

In addition to this, Calvin adds:

So then let us mark that his love is always free in our works, but that he will not be mocked, nor have his goodness abused, nor abide that men should take liberty to do evil when they see him so gentle and free hearted towards them but, on the contrary, will have us to be responsible again on our side, so that we do not turn a deaf ear to him when he speaks to us....¹⁶¹

In summary, "The covenant of grace for Calvin is a fruit of God's undeserved mercy, but at the same time it calls for a response of faith and obedience from man."¹⁶²

When looking back at Calvin through the formulations of the Synod of Dort, it may appear as if Calvin downplayed human responsibility in the light of his doctrine of total depravity and supralapsarianism. However, the above citations make it clear that Calvin understood human responsibility and obedience, as modeled in Adam, as still being pertinent even amidst the fall and the predetermined "admission to the fellowship of the covenant."¹⁶³ Hence, in light of all this, it would appear as if Calvin himself is a moderate in the eyes of the strict adherents to the Synod of Dort. Consequently, all this shows that Lampe and the moderate Calvinists were not necessarily trying to water down Calvin, and his doctrine of supralapsarianism, and/or divine predeterminism, but were simply trying to uphold Calvin's original emphases.

Of course, in addition to the covenant of works and the "federal principle," the primary elements of Lampe's understanding of the fall and his doctrine of sin are found in Calvin as well. However, Calvin does not delineate the effects of the fall into three categories like Lampe. Instead, Calvin primarily speaks of the effects of the fall under one broad category -- the loss of the image of God. T. F. Torrance clearly presents Calvin's thinking on this point, when he writes that

the *imago dei* is not just some one thing in man but refers to his total relation with God, and concerns the totality of his being.... It is not therefore external to him,

¹⁶¹ Hoekema, "The Covenant of Grace in Calvin's Teaching," 143.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ See terminology in footnote #160 above.

nor is it something super-added. It is absolutely essential to true human nature. On the other hand, because it is only in Christ that man can have the rectitude and integrity which are constitutive of his true human nature and which concern his whole being, it is also apparent that fallen man possesses the *imago dei* no more than he possesses Christ, and that if we must speak of his relation to Christ in total terms we must also speak of his depravation of the image of God in total terms.¹⁶⁴

Both Calvin and Lampe held to a doctrine of total depravity, but not only did the latter divide this doctrine into three categories, he also elaborated on the psychological effects of such depravity. Calvin on the other hand, simply emphasized the total turpitude of the post-fall nature of humanity.

Another difference between Calvin and Lampe is in their view of one's appropriation of the covenant of grace.¹⁶⁵ Of course, Lampe followed Reformed orthodoxy in his view of salvation, and therefore both Calvin and Lampe have obvious similarities in their systems of appropriation. But, as seen earlier, Lampe formulates an elaborate system on the basis of an analogy on the seven days of creation. Furthermore, he incorporates several sub-steps into his system as well. Calvin on the other hand did not present such an elaborate *Hielsordnung*. Basically, Calvin sees salvation as having five components; and, like Lampe, he only sees these steps as happening by and through grace. First, Calvin says that upon hearing the Word, there is "mortification", or the "repentance of the law".¹⁶⁶ Here one experiences sorrow and dread over the awakening awareness of her sins and the "awareness of divine judgment."¹⁶⁷ This sorrow then leads to Calvin's second component -- "contrition". Here the sinner has moved to a deeper level of sorrow and "lies stricken and overthrown; humbled and cast down he trembles; he becomes

¹⁶⁴ Torrance, 86.

¹⁶⁵ The fact that Calvin understood the existence of the covenant of grace, was established under our earlier discussion on Calvin in respect to Lampe's "first essential". See pages 139 ff., and footnotes 56 and 57 on page 141 above.

¹⁶⁶ *Institutes*, III.3.3+4; McNeill's ed., 595-596.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, III.3.3; McNeill's ed., 595.

discouraged and despairs."¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, these two components relate to Lampe's first sub-step within his *Heilsordnung* -- one must produce a holy sorrow.

After coming to the point of contrition, Calvin states that the sinner arrives at "vivification". Here one receives the consolation that arises from faith. That is,

when a man is laid low by the consciousness of sin and stricken by the fear of God, and afterward looks to the goodness of God -- to his mercy, grace, salvation, which is through Christ -- he raises himself up, he takes heart, he recovers courage, and as it were, returns from death to life.¹⁶⁹

Calvin also calls this state, the 'repentance of the Gospel'.¹⁷⁰ Interestingly, this seems to correspond to Lampe's fifth sub-step -- moving to subscribe to the covenant of grace.

Perhaps the biggest difference between Lampe and Calvin, comes with Calvin's "positioning" of justification. Calvin sees justification as being the subsequent gift of God after "vivification". And it "consists of the remission of sins and the imputation of Christ's righteousness."¹⁷¹ Though Calvin and Lampe define it primarily in the same terms (i.e., as the gift of God),¹⁷² they are opposite in their "positioning" of it in relation to regeneration. Lampe distinguishes justification as coming after regeneration; and Calvin sees regeneration as beginning at the same time as justification and then proceeding from it. Calvin states that

the grace of justification is not separated from regeneration, although they are things distinct. But because it is very well known by experience that the traces of sin always remain in the righteous, their justification must be very different from reformation into newness of life.... For God so begins this second point in his elect, and progresses in it gradually, and sometimes slowly, throughout life, that they are always liable to the judgment of death before his tribunal.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ *Institutes*, III.3.3; McNeill's ed., 595.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, III.3.4; McNeill's ed., 596.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, III.11.2; McNeill's ed., 727.

¹⁷² See: *Institutes*, III.11.1; McNeill's ed., 735. For Lampe's description of justification as a gift from God, or as "a pure good" to be accepted by the believer, see pages 201-202 and footnote #107 above.

¹⁷³ *Institutes*, III.11.11; McNeill's ed., 739.

Consequently, in holding to this view, Calvin's view of sanctification (which is what this writer has labeled as Calvin's fifth step), is synonymous with regeneration. This is a significant difference in regard to our analysis with Lampe's *Heilsordnung* for two reasons. First, in separating regeneration from sanctification, Lampe distinguishes two workings or dispensations of renewal in a Christian's life. There is the renewal, or regeneration, of the person prior to justification, and there is the renewal and growth of the person after justification. This then produces a greater hope for the Pietist emphasis on a higher level of holiness in this life.¹⁷⁴ For if Christ can complete one's first renewal in justification, then most likely he can complete one's post-justification renewal in this life as well. Such thinking is supported by the fact that Lampe believed that one could attain the "perfection of achievement" in this life. (However, one must recall that Lampe himself, at the time of writing his *Geheimnis*, had not experienced such a level of perfection.)

The second reason for the significance of Lampe's variance with Calvin on the "positioning" of justification, is interwoven with the first. Lampe's "positioning" of justification not only opens up a higher ethical attainment for the individual, but, by virtue of the "system of parallels," it corresponds to the moral transformation of history as well. For example: In keeping with Lampe's parallelisms, one might see Lampe's first period in history, the time after the fall and up to the time of Noah,¹⁷⁵ as representing a time of hope in the believer, or as representing the "effectual call". Second, the period from Noah to Christ, can be taken as a cosmic representation of a believer under "saving faith". Next, Christ came, and became the center point in history, he fulfilled the prophecies about him, and transformed the hope of the Messiah into actual redemption and reoriented all future expectations toward the Kingdom of God on earth. Hence, in a sense, Christ regenerated history. This corresponds, via the "system of parallels," to an individual in the third step of the *Heilsordnung*. Next, Lampe sees the fourth period of history as

¹⁷⁴ In Part II of this paper, it was pointed out that one of the "true traits" of Pietism was its concern for "religious idealism," and/or Christian perfection. See chapter II, footnote #31, on page 41 above.

¹⁷⁵ Lampe's full periodization of history is introduced in the fifth chapter of the second book of the *Geheimnis*. More specifically, one can find the periods of history listed in: *Geheimnis*, II, 166-179.

being from Christ to the Antichrist. Perhaps one could associate this with justification; in that just as justification is a total gift of God, so is perseverance under a time of persecution and the rising of the Antichrist. Following this, Lampe sees the fifth period of history as being the time of the Reformation. Here, under the worsening times of the Antichrist, there is transformation, renewal, the reorientation of doctrine, etc.. Similarly, just as the Reformation arose in the midst of troubling times, so sanctification has the struggle with temptation and persecution as its first level.¹⁷⁶ Hence, for the individual this is the level of sanctification and of renewal. Moreover, this is the level of the second regeneration. Then there is the sixth period of history that represents the Protestant Church. This represents a type of "sealing", or the securing of spiritual truths. Thus, this obviously corresponds to a time of an individual's "sealing", or to the securing of one's faith. Finally, there is the seventh period in history, which has already been discussed as corresponding to the glorification of the individual.¹⁷⁷

In light of the above details, it becomes quite evident why Lampe's difference with Calvin on the position of justification is important -- for it helps identify the significance of the order of Lampe's *Heilsordnung*; and it is essential to view the latter properly in order to fully understand the periodization of history, and the entire eternal covenant partnership. In pointing this out, we have completed our comparative analysis with Calvin. Thus, we now move to examine Lampe's "second essential" in respect to Cocceius.

A Comparative Analysis with Johannes Cocceius

Charles McCoy, succinctly summarizes Cocceius' understanding of the "second essential" when he states:

From sheer grace, God made a covenant with nature in the creation of the world. This pact contained commands and promises and thus was a covenant of works between God and humanity. It was abrogated by Adam's rebellion, disobedience,

¹⁷⁶ See page 202 and footnote #110 above.

¹⁷⁷ See pages 207-211.

and fall; in the fall, humans are placed in bondage to sin and death. God then upholds the one and eternal covenant by establishing the covenant of grace that is fulfilled in Jesus Christ, demonstrating that 'grace, above all, is God's will unto salvation.'¹⁷⁸

In McCoy's summary, we, of course, find all the components to the second "essential" that we find in Lampe. However, a few of the elements need to be examined in more detail in order to strengthen Lampe's similarities with Cocceius, and to establish points of dissimilarity with him as well. First, the statement above clearly shows that Cocceius understood Adam to be our "federal head"; for it presents Adam as being in a legal situation, bounded by "commands" and "promises".¹⁷⁹ Hence, this implies that Cocceius understood Adam's obedience to be the model for our own;¹⁸⁰ and therefore, by nature of Adam's representational role, and with the terms of the covenant of works, Cocceius sees human responsibility as an integral part of God's original relationship with humanity. Furthermore, after the fall, God, through his grace, upholds the eternal covenant, which was first expressed in the covenant of works. Hence, human responsibility is still applicable, by nature of the fact that God retained the structure of the eternal covenant by establishing it anew in the covenant of grace with humanity. Now, if the "federal principle," as expressed in Cocceius, who brought it to "its most profound and influential formulation,"¹⁸¹ is taken to its full extent, there is an element of universalism present. For if the covenant of works is with all men through the representation of Adam, "then is not the covenant of grace with all men through Christ?"¹⁸² And therefore, is not all of humanity redeemed, or at

¹⁷⁸ McCoy and Baker, 73. For primary source material to support McCoy's claims here, see: Johannes Cocceius, "*Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei*," chap. 4, in *Opera Omnia*, 2nd ed., vol. 7. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa theologiae ex scripturis repetita*," chap. 41; and "*Aphorismi per universam theologiam prolixiores*," chap. 5, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 7.

¹⁷⁹ To see how the concept of Adam's federal representation is connected to the terminology of "threats" and "promises", see pages 215-216 above.

¹⁸⁰ To see how this concept (i.e., that Adam's obedience models our own) is connected with the "federal principle", see pages 182-184 and 215-216 above.

¹⁸¹ McCoy and Baker, 73.

¹⁸² McCoy, 206. This argument is also brought up by Heinrich Heppé. As McCoy states: "Heppé suggests that Cocceius introduces here a note of universalism." (McCoy, 206.) For Heppé's full thought on this matter, see:

the very least, responsible to act upon, and/or within, this covenant; as Adam was to act upon, and/or within, the covenant of works? Yet, Cocceius does not hold to universalism, or even to a doctrine of unlimited atonement. "For...he tells us that God intends this inheritance in the covenant of grace for 'certain seed through faith in the mediator.'"¹⁸³

One might argue, since the roots of this doctrine (i.e., the covenant of works and the "federal principle") are found in Calvin, that Calvin suggested universalism as well; and in light of the previous discussions on Calvin, this could be an accurate presumption. However, it was Cocceius, who fully developed the federal system. Thus, it is safe to say, that Lampe's tendency toward universalism, or at least toward unlimited atonement,¹⁸⁴ comes directly from Cocceius. However, Lampe, like Cocceius, balances such tendencies with a firm adherence to a doctrine of limited atonement as well.¹⁸⁵ (This doctrine will be discussed in more detail later.) Hence, Lampe, as Cocceius before him, was not a universalist, or an adherent to unlimited atonement. Rather, he and Cocceius understood a 'wider set of alternatives in God's dealings with man than did the high predestinarians.'¹⁸⁶ Thus, the purpose for discussing Cocceius' and Lampe's shared hint of universalism, which stems from their equal understanding of the "federal principle," has been to aid in the proper identity of the moderate Calvinists, of whom Cocceius and Lampe were members. Lampe and Cocceius did not present anything heretical, instead they simply emphasized the present, yet unpronounced, tension in Calvin's doctrines of atonement and the Adamic connection.

Even though Cocceius and Lampe had the same understanding of the covenant of works, the "federal principle", the tension stemming from these views, and equally understood the rest of

Heinrich Heppe, Reformed Dogmatics Set Out and Illustrated from the Sources, edited and revised by Ernst Bizer, trans., G. T. Thomson (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1950), 371-372.

¹⁸³ McCoy, 206. Also see: Cocceius, "*Foed*," IV, 76.

¹⁸⁴ See chapter VI, footnote #156, on page 172 above.

¹⁸⁵ See: *Geheimnis*, I, 117-163.

¹⁸⁶ McCoy, 206-207.

the basic concepts within covenant theology, they still delineated the universal effects of sin and the *ordo solutis* differently. First, with regard to the universal effect of the fall, Cocceius, like Lampe, held to an orthodox view of total depravity and broke it down into three categories. However, these categories are different from Lampe's. The first category of sin, as described by Cocceius, deals with particular transgressions, or the corruption of human activity. Here, sin "is the pattern of distorted activity," or the non-conforming to the will of God.¹⁸⁷ Interestingly, Cocceius speaks of human will under this category,¹⁸⁸ which suggests that he understood the will as that which facilitates action in an individual. Hence, in considering this with our earlier review of Lampe's understanding of human will, it appears as if Cocceius may have inspired such thinking in Lampe.

The second category in Cocceius' delineation of the universal effects of the fall, is described in the terms of man's relationship to God. Here, sin is disloyalty to or defection from God.¹⁸⁹ Under this category, Cocceius places an emphasis on the character of one's heart. With regard to Cocceius' position here, McCoy states:

Sin is the placing of the vain imaginations of the heart in place of God as the supreme and exclusive object of loyalty.¹⁹⁰

The third category of sin, according to Cocceius, is where sin "may be described as a condition."¹⁹¹ Here Cocceius describes post-fall humanity as being in a constant state of rebellion. Humanity "is still capable of response to God's righteous commands but can respond only with disobedience and disloyalty. Hence, in short, this category is similar to Lampe's "ultimate

¹⁸⁷ McCoy, 263. Also see: Cocceius, "*Disputationes selectae*," chap. V, par. 4 in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 7.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Also see: Cocceius, "*Disputationes*," V, 5-6.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Also see: "*Disputationes*," V, 8-10.

¹⁹⁰ McCoy, 263.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 264.

weakness," for humanity is totally unable to respond favorably to God because of its rebellious condition.

The most significant thing concerning Cocceius' description of fallen humanity as corrupt in action, corrupt in intention and relationship, and corrupt in nature, is that he sees all this rooted in a concept of "mutability". According to Cocceius, "God is not the author of sin. Nor is the possibility of sin derived strictly from man's freedom."¹⁹² For sin places one in bondage, for it makes one "unable." Hence, to be truly free, one must stay in relation to God. Now, how can the sole condition of freedom (i.e., staying in relation to God) inspire one to move away from that condition? Allowing this would be analogous to saying that breathing, or the condition of living, inspires us not to breath. Now, if freedom is understood this way, then how could Adam have acted on his own freedom in the garden? In other words, if the nature of sin is so contrary to freedom itself, then how could Adam have disobeyed on the basis of such freedom? These questions form an obvious problem, for it was stated earlier that Cocceius understood Adam as a fully responsible agent within the covenant of works.¹⁹³ Moreover, it was also stated that Lampe understood Adam as fully responsible too, and that he saw Adam as acting on his own free will.¹⁹⁴ Hence, how are these apparent contradictions to be resolved? The answer lies in the Cocceian concept of mutability. In expressing Cocceius' understanding here, McCoy writes:

The ground of the possibility of sin is that man is not firmly fixed in his freedom but also has mutability, [or] the possibility of turning from God and enslaving his will. Mutability, not freedom, is the aspect of man as created which involves the possibility of sin.... Thus man, as created, has freedom, but it is a freedom which can be lost.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² McCoy, 265. Also see: Cocceius, *"Summa Theo,"* XXV, 9.

¹⁹³ See pages 222-224 above.

¹⁹⁴ See page 175 ff., and footnote #2 above.

¹⁹⁵ McCoy, 265. Also see: Cocceius, *"Foed,"* II, 52-53; *"Summa Theo,"* XXV, 28-38, 39.

Hence, Adam's free will is not based on and in a principle of freedom, but is based on and in the ability to change. Separating the ability to change from freedom allows Cocceius, to see three things. First, it allows him to see sin as the result of humanity, and second, it also allows God's holy sovereignty to remain in tact. For God did not directly create sin, rather, he created humankind with the ability to change, which meant that Adam was able to change the divine-human covenant context by seeking out some other good apart from God.¹⁹⁶ Hence, God created the mutability, but Adam used his mutability against God.

The third thing that the concept of mutability allows for in Cocceius, is that the concept of freedom takes on a less paradoxical meaning in respect to salvation. If freedom is understood, in the words of John Dewey, as "the status of the will as an uncaused cause of human action,"¹⁹⁷ or as a juxtaposed autonomous reality to God,¹⁹⁸ then how can one say that the truth of Christ will set one free?¹⁹⁹ In other words, if one is free before choosing Christ, then how is she made free after choosing him? However, if freedom is not defined in the fashion of Dewey or Pelagius, but rather, is defined as only existing in relation to God, which is the way that Augustine, Calvin, and Cocceius defined it,²⁰⁰ then certainly, true freedom can only come after one accepts Christ.

¹⁹⁶ McCoy, 265.

¹⁹⁷ "Freedom," Webster's Third International Dictionary.

¹⁹⁸ See page 81 above.

¹⁹⁹ See John 8:31-38.

²⁰⁰ In regards to the issue of free will, and/or freedom, Augustine writes: "Why then do miserable men either dare to boast of free will before they have been freed, or of their powers, if they have already been freed? And they do not heed the fact that in the term 'free will' freedom seems to be implied. 'Now where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom.' [II Cor. 3:17] If, therefore, they are slaves to sin, why do they boast of free will?" (Cited by Calvin, in: Institutes, II.2.8; McNeill's ed., 265-266.) Clearly Augustine understands freedom as only being possible in relation to God. Now Calvin, though he desired not to use the expression, "free will," or to indulge in discussions over it as the Early Church Fathers did (See: Institutes, II.2.8-9; McNeill's ed., 265-267.), he still understood freedom as existing in the context of a divine-human relationship; for he states: "Yet I... affirm this: however excessive they [the Early Church Fathers] sometimes are in extolling free will, they have had this end in view -- to teach man utterly to forsake confidence in his own virtue and to hold that all his strength rests in God alone." (Institutes, II.2.9; McNeill's ed., 267. Brackets mine.) Finally, it as already been shown in the body of this paper that Cocceius held to this same understanding of freedom.

There is no doubt that Lampe adhered to the Cocceian concept of mutability. This is evident for two reasons. First, in a particular manner, he continually uses the terminology involved with the concept of mutability throughout his *Geheimnis*. For example, he hints to the concept of mutability when he claims that God adopted "various ways with man, according to man's various qualities before and after the fall."²⁰¹ In the context of Lampe's thought here, does not the phrase "various qualities" represent a "changing status" in humanity? And could humanity have such a changing status, if it were not created with the ability to change?

Another example of Lampe's use of "mutability" terminology is present when he says that a covenant partner should continually seek a "covenant-like *change*" through prayer.²⁰² In addition, Lampe also says that the wrath of judgment "can only be avoided by a rapid and total *change*."²⁰³ Hence, from these few examples, it is clear that Lampe employed the language of mutability, and most likely, therefore, adhered to its underlying concept.

The second piece of evidence, and perhaps the strongest, for showing that Lampe held to Cocceius' concept of mutability, is the unresolved tension between human responsibility and divine sovereignty; which is constantly present within the Lampe's theological "essentials". It has been clear throughout this portion of our study, that Lampe desired to see all things contained in God, and yet, he desired to see humanity as having a role within that "containment." More particularly, this portion of our study has expressed Lampe's desire to see Adam as freely acting within the covenant of works, while at the same time it has expressed his desire to see Adam's freedom as contained in God. Hence, if Lampe sees freedom as only taking place in relationship with God, and yet he still sees Adam's change into a fallen state as based on the decision of the latter, then Lampe must understand Adam's free action as being based on the principle of mutability. Moreover, if one adds to this equation the fact that Lampe uses the language of

²⁰¹ *Geheimnis*, I, 6. Also see footnotes #9 and 10 above.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, I, 746. Emphasis mine. Also see footnote #99 above.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, II, 563-564. Emphasis mine.

"mutability" throughout his work, and that he was a steadfast disciple of Cocceius, then there should be no doubt that Lampe adhered to the concept of mutability.²⁰⁴

All of this provides some alleviation to the tension between the role of God and the role of the individual within Lampe's system of grace; for we have seen in discussing this point, that humankind is responsible for sin on the basis of the ability to change. Yet, one must ask at this point, could this ability to change have been utilized for the good by Adam? In other words, could he have changed for the better, rather than for the worse?

Cocceius, as far as this writer can tell, did not entertain any positive possibility within his concept of mutability. In fact, he says, according to McCoy, that the possibility for change was a "lack of perfection in man's natural liberty."²⁰⁵ However, though this is presented in negative terms, it carries a positive counterpart. For if humanity lacked perfection in the garden, and yet was in relationship with God, and therefore, could act freely, then could it not have been possible for humanity to grow, or achieve a greater perfection in the garden? The possibility for growth in the garden, under the concept of mutability, is synonymous with Irenaeus' thoughts in these matters.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Though Lampe could have acquired his thinking on the concepts of mutability and freedom through any of the three sources mentioned in footnote #200 above, this writer has decided to place Lampe's acquisition of the concept of mutability and freedom as coming through Cocceius, since Lampe was closest to him chronologically, and was a stringent follower of Cocceius as well.

²⁰⁵ McCoy, 266. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa Theo*," XXV, 39; XXVI, 1 ff.; "*Foed*," III, 59, 62-63.

²⁰⁶ Irenaeus states: "For as it certainly is in the power of a mother to give strong food to her infant, [but she does not do so], as the child is not yet able to receive more substantial nourishment; so also it was possible for God Himself to have made man perfect from the first, but man could not receive this [perfection], being as yet an infant.... It was for this reason that the Son of God, although He was perfect, passed through the state of infancy in common with the rest of mankind, partaking of it thus not for His own benefit, but for that of the infantile stage of man's existence, in order that man might be able to receive him.... By this arrangement, therefore, and these harmonies, and a sequence of this nature, man, a created and organized being, is rendered after the image and likeness of the uncreated God, -- the Father planning everything well and giving His commands, the Son carrying these into execution and performing the work of creating, and the Spirit nourishing and increasing [what is made], but man making progress day by day, and ascending towards the perfect, that is, approximating to the uncreated One.... Now it was necessary that man should in the first instance be created; and having been created, should receive growth; and having received growth, should be strengthened; and having been strengthened, should abound; and having abounded, should recover [from the disease of sin]; and having recovered, should be glorified; and being glorified, should see his Lord." [Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, trans., and ed., Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1 (1885; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), bk. 4, chap. 38, par. 1-3. Brackets by translator.] From all of this, we not only see that Irenaeus understood Adam as

Interestingly, it does appear at times that Lampe follows Irenaeus in his concept of humanity prior to the fall, for he calls fallen man, "not yet ripened fruit."²⁰⁷ Does this mean that Adam was ripened fruit, and that we lost our "ripened status" in the fall? Perhaps, but in the context of Lampe's understanding of the effects of the fall,²⁰⁸ there is no comment that would ascribe humanity as becoming a child. Rather, Lampe simply claims that our natures became totally corrupt, and that we bear with the fear and inability that comes with sin. Now, if Lampe is ascribing the idea of childhood to our fallen state of inability and fear, then he shows no sign of agreement with Irenaeus. However, if the image of fallen humanity is viewed as an unripe child because the fall kept us from "ripening", then this would correspond to Irenaeus.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, if this possible similarity is considered under the ramifications of the "federal principle" and the concept of reciprocity, where Adam's obedience models our own with Christ, and our own with Christ models Adam's, then it would appear that as we have the opportunity to grow in grace through obedience, Adam should have had the same opportunity to grow in obedience as well.

Hence, in light of the concepts of mutability, reciprocity and the "federal principle", it would seem likely that Lampe, and even Cocceius entertained an Irenaean concept in their understanding of the pre-fall condition of humanity.²¹⁰ However, such thinking opens up a wide gamut of difficulties. For example, if Adam lacked perfection, then would Christ have come if the fall had never occurred? Furthermore, one could argue that Adam's lack in perfection was

having the capability to grow, but that humanity's growth is continued through, and completed in, Christ. This sounds very similar to the view in covenant theology of the progressive nature of history as finding its purpose and fulfillment in Christ. Thus, it would appear that covenant theology and Irenaeus have a similar doctrine of progression after the fall, but the issue above is whether or not Lampe, and covenant theology share a similar understanding of Adam's progressive nature toward perfection prior to the fall.

²⁰⁷ Lampe cited in: O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 69.]

²⁰⁸ See pages 185 ff. above.

²⁰⁹ Irenaeus does not ascribe infancy to humanity after the fall, but before it. See footnote #206 above.

²¹⁰ A direct connection between Cocceian theology and Irenaeus on the above point is uncertain. However, Möller points out that there is a definite parallel between Cocceian theology and Irenaeus on the idea of progression within the "containment" of scripture. See: Möller, 403. Also see footnote #206 above.

nothing more than a divine "set-up" for his disobedience. For example, one might ask: If God truly did not design sin, or intend sin, then why did he make the possibility for it in the mutability of humanity? Now, as it was stated earlier, Lampe did not speculate on such issues.

Furthermore, any real adherence to Irenaeus is unclear, all of this is simply implied on the basis of the aforementioned deductions. Therefore, the importance of all of this is not so much that Lampe implemented Irenaeian concepts, rather, it would appear that by adhering to the Cocceian concept of mutability,²¹¹ he simply sees the ability for human change and/or progression as a part of the eternal covenant partnership; and this quality in the individual "unit" fits the progressive and/or mutable characteristics of the other "units" within the entire "system of parallels". Furthermore, for Lampe, the concept of mutability provides a way to alleviate some of the tension concerning the "authorship" of the fall.

So far in our comparative analysis with Cocceius, we have seen how Lampe and Cocceius: (1) understood the covenant of works and the "federal principle" in identical ways; (2) delineated the universal effects of the fall differently; and (3), understood the occasion for the fall as resting in the principle of mutability. Hence, at this point, there is only one more component within the "second essential" that needs to be compared between Cocceius and Lampe -- the order of salvation.

Earlier it was shown how there are direct parallels between an individual's movement through Lampe's *Heilsordnung* and the movement of history. Specifically, this parallel was shown under the discussion on the importance of the "position" of justification between Lampe and Calvin.²¹² In addition, this relationship (i.e., the parallel between the individual and history) was also noted under the discussion of the relation between the fall and the individual,²¹³ and in the discourse on the similarities between the glorification of history and individual death.²¹⁴

²¹¹ See footnote #204 above.

²¹² See pages 220-222 above.

²¹³ See pages 178-180 above.

²¹⁴ See pages 207-211 above.

However, within these discussions, it was also said that Lampe did not speak to these parallels in the same way as the writer had presented them. Nevertheless, the aforementioned discussions strongly portrayed that such parallel relationships do in fact exist within Lampe's theology. Interestingly, this "strong portrayal" is strengthened even more when one first recalls that Lampe derived his theology primarily from Cocceius; and then considers that Cocceius himself, implements such a parallel relationship (i.e., where the individual appropriation of grace corresponds to the cosmic covenant system and vice versa) within his own theology.

As stated earlier in this paper, Cocceius understood the temporal actualization of the pre-temporal covenant as being carried out through four dispensations.²¹⁵ In other words, Cocceius understood history as being divided into four parts. These parts are the covenant of works, and the covenant of grace; then under the covenant of grace, there is the "time of promise before Christ" and "the time of fulfillment in the Gospel." Now, according to Charles McCoy, Cocceius understood humanity as passing through four stages, and these stages represent the process of salvation and correspond to the four divisions of history.²¹⁶ McCoy writes:

Man passes through four stages in his covenant relation with God. First, man is upright by creation. Secondly, he falls into bondage because of disobedience and unfaithfulness, and is estranged from God. Thirdly, he is in a condition of faith and hope prior to the Gospel.... Fourth, man is regenerate man, redeemed in Christ. By faith in Christ, man may be received into the covenant of grace and thereby may share as an heir of Christ in the salvation won by him.

In each of these stages of human existence, man's condition and nature are defined in terms of the relation to God in covenant. We may speak of man as being in four 'locations' with reference to the covenant.

First, man as innocent is understood in terms of the covenant of works.... Secondly, man as a sinner is understood in terms of the violation of the covenant of works [or as being "located" in relation to the fall].... Thirdly, ...God extends the covenant of grace in which man is redeemed through faith in Christ.... Under the Old Testament, the covenant of grace is extended to man through hope.... In this stage of man's pilgrimage..., we see his situation defined in terms of the

²¹⁵ See page 163 above. Also see chapter VI, footnote #118, on page 163 above.

²¹⁶ See: McCoy, 270-271.

covenant, present through hope and expectation but not yet fully effective....

Fourth, ...[in] the Gospel, man as sinner becomes regenerate man....²¹⁷

The eternal purposes of God as unfolded in the covenants are for Cocceius, ...the history of salvation. and the pattern of the initiative of God and the response of man... [is] the dialogue of redemption.²¹⁸

McCoy's insight into Cocceius' "parallel relationship" between the cosmic covenant process of history and the cosmic condition of humanity, by nature of the "federal principle," translates into a "parallel relationship" between the cosmic covenant process of history and the process of salvation for an individual person. Of course, this is so because the "federal principle" represents one man as all of humanity,²¹⁹ and all of humanity is comprised of single individuals. Therefore, the "parallel relationship" presented above, provides two important factors for our study. First, as stated above, since Lampe primarily followed Cocceius, it supports the aforementioned parallels between history and the individual within Lampe's theological system. Though Lampe draws such parallels on the basis of a sevenfold scheme instead of on a fourfold pattern, the methodology implied in Cocceius is the same here.

The second factor that the Cocceian "parallel relationship" provides for this study is a further substantiation for the entire "system of parallels."²²⁰ This "further substantiation" is supplied through the following steps: (1) Earlier it was established that Cocceius understood scripture as being "contained" and yet "progressive."²²¹ (2) It was also expressed that the "containment" and "progression" in scripture has implications for history through holding: (a)

²¹⁷ McCoy, 271-273.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 299. Brackets mine.

²¹⁹ McCoy states: "Man is moral man in covenant, a concept with both social [or corporate] and personal dimensions but having neither in isolation from the other. The federal notion of Adam as both one man and all men indicates further this dual character of the Cocceian understanding of human nature...." McCoy, 303. Brackets mine.

²²⁰ Of course, this factor is closely associated, if not in some ways synonymous, with the first. However, for the sake of clarity, the "system of parallels" as a whole has been delineated separately from the particular examples of parallel relationships between an individual's appropriation of salvation and history.

²²¹ See pages 155-157 above.

prophecy as the "idea", and history as its "realization";²²² (b) time as a divine tool for the progression of revelation; and (c) understanding God as standing before and after time.²²³ (3) In conjunction with all of this, it was also said that Lampe and Cocceius understood Christ as the purpose of scripture and the content of prophecy.²²⁴ Therefore, it was understood that Christ and his purpose, which is the salvation of his chosen,²²⁵ and the extolling of the Father,²²⁶ is the content and purpose of history as well.²²⁷ However, (4) history, in and of itself, cannot redeem anything; for salvation only comes through the physical and spiritual work of Christ.²²⁸ Hence (5), saying that the purpose of history is for the redemption of humanity must mean that it is to point out and serve that purpose. This is where the above citation from McCoy fits in. For the thoughts of Cocceius, as represented in McCoy's statement, and in light of the "federal principle," express that history points out salvation in the fact that it parallels the work of Christ in the individual. Furthermore, the above quote also shows that history serves revelation in that the divisions of history (i.e., the time before the fall, after the fall, and the time of the Old and New Testaments) come from scripture itself. Therefore, (6) the Cocceian "parallel relationship" affirms the "system of parallels," for if history does in fact point to salvation for the individual, and serves the purpose of Christ, then it truly represents the temporal actualization of the pre-temporal covenant of redemption. And if (7) history is the actualization of the pre-temporal covenant, then it obviously points back to the pre-temporal plan; for how can history advance something that is

²²² See pages 164-165 above.

²²³ See pages 158-160 above.

²²⁴ See chapter VI, footnotes 123 and 124 on page 165 above.

²²⁵ For Lampe's view here, see pages 194-196 above. For Cocceius, see chapter VI, footnote #91, on page 152.

²²⁶ For Lampe's view here, see pages 135-136 above. For Cocceius, see chapter VI, footnote #41, on page 136 above.

²²⁷ See chapter VI, footnote #155, on page 172 above. Also see footnote #224 above.

²²⁸ See page 194 above. In addition for the seven periods of Christ's life and work, see chapter VI, footnote #116, on page 162 above.

not identifiable within it? Therefore, if (8) history is "contained" and "progressive", by nature of its relationship with scripture (see point #2 above), then in light of point #7, the pre-temporal covenant must be "contained" and "progressive" as well. Hence, we now have a three-way parallel between the "containment" and "development" of scripture, history and the pre-temporal covenant. Now (9), if history points to the "containment" and "progression" of these other "units" (i.e. scripture and the pre-temporal covenant), and points to the design and "progression" of salvation; then when an individual appropriates salvation, or takes it within herself, there forms a parallel between the individual "unit" and the other three "units" (i.e., scripture, the pre-temporal covenant, and history) within the "system of parallels." In other words, after one appropriates salvation, there is a four-way parallel between the "containment" and "progression" in scripture, history, the pre-temporal covenant, and the individual; and this represents the completed "circuit", or the full "system of parallels."

In considering the nine points above, one can see that the "flow" of the deduction clearly expresses that the Cocceian "parallel relationship" (i.e., where the individual appropriation of grace corresponds to the covenant system in history and vice versa) is part of the larger cosmic "system of parallels", which includes all the "units" involved in the divine plan (i.e., the pre-temporal covenant, scripture, history, and the individual). Thus, the above insight from McCoy, when added to the earlier information from Möller,²²⁹ affirms that the "system of parallels" is the skeletal framework to Cocceian theology. Now, since Lampe is fully Cocceian in his thinking, then, of course, the "system of parallels" is the theological framework for Lampe as well.

Three facts have been identified in our comparative analysis with Cocceius. First, Cocceius and Lampe generally shared an equal understanding on most of the elements within the "second essential." However, Cocceius differed from Lampe in his categorization of the universal effects of the fall. Cocceius primarily addressed sin as a break in the divine-human covenant relation, and as the corruption of humanity's activity. On the other hand, Lampe, though

²²⁹ See pages 155-156 above.

understanding the fall as a break in the covenant relation, used more conditional language and introduced a psychological category.²³⁰

Second, Lampe and Cocceius held to a concept of mutability. This concept offered a way for Cocceius and Lampe to understand humanity as responsible for sin, while seeing it "contained" in the creativity of God without assaulting God in the process.

Finally, we have seen support for the "system of parallels," which serves as the primary platform for the thesis topic. For within the "system of parallels," Lampe is able to see the individual as playing a significant role within the entire covenant process in history (i.e. "progression"), while maintaining a strict view of predestination (i.e., "containment").

Having completed our comparison with Cocceius, there remains the final part of our investigation into Lampe's system of grace, the concept of election. To this point, the eternal covenant partnership, as divided into two "essential" parts has been identified. The first "essential" focused on those elements within, or on, the divine and eternal side. The second "essential" focused on those elements on the human and temporal side. In light of the complexities of the first and second "essentials", one can understand why this writer has decided to discuss election under a separate heading, which is designated as Lampe's System B.

In discussing Lampe's System B, or doctrine of election, we will come to understand fully the concept of "containment" as it relates to the individual within the eternal covenant partnership, or System A. Moreover, since election and its fulfillment through Christ is the platform in which the *Heilsordnung* is built, examining Lampe's doctrine of election will further identify the role that the *Heilsordnung* plays within his entire system as well.

²³⁰ When one takes the concept of the "parallel relationship" found in Cocceius (See footnote #217 above.), and adds it to his emphasis on the corruption of human activity (See footnote #187 above.), which involves both an individual and social dynamic, then it becomes clear why it was said earlier that Cocceius understood sin as placing the individual out of "synch" with the divine process. (See page 85 above.) Now, Lampe, of course, as it has been shown, the same relationship between sin and the covenant process. However, his emphasis on the break in the covenant was oriented more toward its practical effects on the individual. Hence, we have here an example of Lampe's "Untereyckian fusion;" for he is combing the covenantal thought of Cocceius, with the Pietist concern for the mental and spiritual well being of the individual. See pages 93-94 and 107 above.

After presenting Lampe's doctrine of election, we will note how it compares to Calvin and Cocceius, in order to continue our "calibration" and identification of Lampe's personal nuances. Then, after the brief comparative analyses, the "transparencies" of election and the first and second "essentials" of Lampe's covenant theology will be "overlapped" and reviewed. This will conclude Part III of our study and will allow us to move into Part IV -- Lampe's eschatology.

CHAPTER VIII

SYSTEM B -- ELECTION

Election: **Its Existence, Design and Purpose**

Lampe identifies election as the "first element" [*ersten Grund*] of the covenant of grace, and calls the satisfaction of Christ, or the fulfillment of election, the "second and most precious element" [*Der zweite und kostbarste Grund*].¹ Hence, one can obviously see from these identifications, that Lampe understood election as being at the very center of the covenant scheme -- for the members of the Trinity decided through pre-temporal deliberations to covenant with humanity and to send Christ; and Christ was sent to fulfill the salvation of the chosen. Thus, with no election, there are none chosen, with none chosen, there is no covenant relation as Lampe understands it; and with no divine-human covenant relation, there is nothing. Hence, though election can be distinguished from the eternal covenant partnership, it definitely cannot be separated from it; and this applies to the two elements of election as well; for there is no election without Christ. Now, one must actively keep this qualification in mind to appreciate the following discussion; for only one "element" of election will be addressed. Since our discussion of Lampe's System A covered the role of Christ in the pre-temporal plan, and the fulfillment of election through the *Heilsordnung*, this portion of our study will only focus on the "first element", or on the nature and existence of election.

In chapter four of book one of his *Geheimnis*, Lampe claims that the existence of election, or as he says, "the fact that God firmly establishes to save certain persons," is affirmed on the basis of seven factors.² First, he claims that the term "election" itself bears witness to such a doctrine; for he writes:

¹ *Geheimnis*, I, 150, 164-165.

² *Ibid.*, I, 127. Lampe's use of the number seven here appears to be simply coincidental; for as far as current research can tell, he does not develop any direct parallel between these factors and the other sevenfold schemes

In the first place, the name of election itself, which is used most often in the Word of God for this work, undeniably indicates such [a work].³

Second, Lampe says that the existence of election is confirmed by "the dependency of all of creation on God's will."⁴ Lampe puts this thought forward by simply and poignantly stating that "nothing is able to have being outside and without [God's] will;"⁵ and then he provides scriptural support for his claim by citing parts of Psalms 139:16, Jeremiah 31:35-36 and Acts 15:18.⁶ In short, under this factor, Lampe is simply presenting the traditional Reformed argument of the total sovereignty of God.

The third factor that assists in substantiating the doctrine of election for Lampe, is "the election of whole nations."⁷ Here Lampe not only speaks of God's selection of Israel in the Old Testament as evidence for the doctrine of election, but he also speaks of the inclusion of the Gentile nations at a designed time as being evidence as well. Lampe leans on the authority of St. Paul for these points; for he writes:

Paul brings forth in Romans XI: that by the decree of God, Israel was to be an honored [*versehenes*] people before any regard [was given] to the Gentiles, and that the Gentiles were to be grafted in after Israel's rejection.⁸

within his theological system. Nevertheless, in light of his strict use of the sevenfold sequential pattern, one should not dismiss the possibility that he may be making some broader connection here.

³ *Geheimnis*, I, 127. Brackets mine.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 127.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 128. Brackets mine. This is the foundation to the idea of "containment". In fact, this is the fullest expression of the idea of "containment."

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 127-128. Psalms 139:16 states: "Your eyes beheld my unformed substance. In your book were written all the days that were formed for me, when none of them as yet existed." Jer. 31:35-36 states: "Thus says the Lord, who gives the sun for light by day and fixed the order of the moon and the stars for light by night, who stirs up the sea so that its waves roar -- the Lord of hosts is his name: If this fixed order were ever to cease from my presence, says the Lord, then also the offspring of Israel would cease to be a nation before me forever." Acts 15:18 states: "Known to God from old are all his works."

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 128.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 128-129. Brackets mine.

After this, Lampe presents the forth piece of evidence for election, which he claims to be "the rejection of certain persons."⁹ In this discussion, Lampe presents three examples that he finds in scripture. First, Lampe looks toward John 17:12, and correspondingly introduces Judas as an example by asking: "Was not Judas the lost child?"¹⁰ Then Lampe says that the Antichrist is predestined to be lost; and gives II Thessalonians 2:8 as his reference.¹¹ Thirdly, Lampe presents Esau as an example, and provides Romans 9:13 as his text.¹² And finally, Lampe says that Pharaoh was hardened, or rejected, so that God could show his power through him; and cites from Romans 9:17.¹³ Through these examples, it is clear that Lampe understood a doctrine of double predestination -- where God not only directly chooses those who will be saved, but also directly chooses those who will not be saved as well.

The fifth element of evidence that Lampe gives for predestination is the correlation between prophecy and epoch events and periods in history.¹⁴ Here Lampe says that God has determined certain times for the Church, like the naming and gathering of his people, the arrival of the Son, and the sending of the Spirit. That some prophecies have spoken about certain times and events, and that those times and events have already taken place, shows that God has not only inspired scripture, but that he has also determined certain times in which prophecies should be fulfilled. Furthermore, if past prophecies have been fulfilled, then definitely future ones will come about as well. Hence, just as all creatures find there being in God's will, all of history -- with its

⁹ *Geheimnis*, I, 129.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* John 17:12 states: "While I was with them, I protected them in your name that you have given me. I guarded them, and not one of them was lost except the one destined to be lost, so that the scripture might be fulfilled."

¹¹ *Ibid.* II Thess. 2:8 states: "And then the lawless one will be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will destroy with the breath of his mouth, annihilating him by the manifestation of his coming."

¹² *Ibid.* Rom. 9:13 states: "As it is written, 'I have loved Jacob, but I have hated Esau.'"

¹³ *Ibid.* Rom. 9:17 states: "For the scripture says to Pharaoh, 'I have raised you up for the very purpose of showing my power in you, so that my name may be proclaimed in all the earth.'"

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 129-130.

movement of time from the past, through the present, and into the future -- finds its being and sequence in God's predetermined plan as well.

The sixth factor that Lampe presents as proof for election is "the round number in which the chosen are found."¹⁵ Here Lampe suggests that the Bible's attention to the certain figures, when speaking of those who represent God's people, suggests election by virtue of the detail. In other words, if election were questionable, then why such exact figures when it comes to God's people? Moreover, why the figures at all, if God has not determined a specific number to be elect? Of course, some could argue that such figures only represent God's foreknowledge, but Lampe, with his overall emphasis on numerical relationships (i.e., the seven step sequence applied throughout his system), sees the numerical values as holding much more weight. The scripture passages that Lampe points to under this factor are Exodus 38:26, Numbers 1:46 and Revelation 7:4.¹⁶

Finally, Lampe states that the other names given to election provide evidence of its existence as well.¹⁷ Lampe says that the term "*Verordnung*" provides evidence by virtue of its definition (it means decree or ordinance), and he states that the word "testament" does the same. Lampe's use of the latter term is quite significant here, for by definition, "testament" means covenant.¹⁸ Hence, Lampe attributes the idea of covenant to the concept of election and vis-à-vis. This is significant in that Lampe does not see one without the other. He understands election, and its fulfillment through Christ, as the covenant of grace for us. If this is fully realized, then Lampe

¹⁵ *Geheimnis*, I, 130.

¹⁶ Exodus 38:26 states: "...everyone who was counted in the census, from twenty years old and upward [was] six hundred and three thousand, five hundred fifty men." Brackets mine. Numbers 1:46 states: "Their whole number was six hundred and three thousand, five hundred fifty." Rev. 7:4 states: "And I heard the number of those who were sealed, one hundred forty four thousand, sealed out of every tribe of Israel."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 130-131.

¹⁸ "Testament," *Webster's Third International Dictionary*. As this discussion continues, it will be clearly shown that Lampe understands the term testament under this definition.

must have understood an element of human responsibility in election. This appears to be an oxymoron; but nevertheless, Lampe does hold to such a tension; for he writes:

[Persons] must examine themselves to see if they already have the marks of election, and if they do not, they must employ diligence to make them steadfast.... But those who encounter the marks of election in themselves must be thankful to God, and by doing such, honestly choose to establish it anew.¹⁹

As stated many times before, Lampe does not try to resolve the tension between human responsibility and God's total sovereignty, rather he utilizes the tension within his seven-fold system of parallels, which operates on the more general "system of parallels" between the universal ideas of "containment" and "progression".

Lampe further identifies what he means by the term "testament" and its relation to election, by describing that there are two "ethereal" testaments, or covenants, within election, and that these covenants correspond to the Old and New Testaments.²⁰ In fact he calls the Old and New Testaments "appendages", or "appendixes" [*Anhänge*] of the "ethereal" testaments.²¹

Lampe describes the first "ethereal" (for lack of a better term) testament as being the covenant between the Father and the Son, where the Son is guaranteed for the purpose of carrying out reconciliation, or the fulfilling of election.²² In this testament, or covenant, "the Father is the Founder and the Son is the heir."²³ Furthermore, the "blessings which are bequeathed" to the Son in this covenant, are:

(a) the highest glory for his person, (b) the rule over the elect, (c) the Spirit, which he can impart to his people, and (d) the conquest of all [his] enemies.²⁴

¹⁹ *Geheimnis*, I, 153-159.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 135-146.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 146.

²² *Ibid.*, I, 132-134, 137-139.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 138.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 139-141. Brackets mine.

The second "ethereal" covenant, steps over from the "ethereal" to the "corporeal", in that the Son is "the founder and the elect are the heirs."²⁵ Here the Son covenants with the elect, to fulfill their election, and to give them the blessings of "happiness itself" and "every resource that leads to it."²⁶

In light of all this, one does not have to strain to see that Lampe is speaking of the pre-temporal covenant in his description of the first "testament" between the Father and the Son. And likewise, it seems evident that Lampe is speaking of the covenant of grace when he mentions the second "testament" in, or under, election. However, Lampe correlates these two testaments with the Old and New Testaments in scripture. This does not produce any real problem if the covenant of works is overlooked, and we begin with the fall; for then we can see the pre-temporal covenant stepping right into the need for salvation and the covenant of grace. However, if the covenant of works is considered in light of Lampe's description of the two testaments of election, then several problems arise. First, the covenant of works seems to lose its real value. For if the covenant of works was a valid covenant, in and of itself, then, in light of the purpose of the first ethereal testament, would Christ have come despite Adam's actions? Furthermore, if Adam would have kept his integrity, then, in light of the "bequeathed benefits" to the Son, would Christ have needed to impart his Spirit to Adam anyway? Moreover, if Adam would have not fallen, then would not the Father, who walked with Adam in "the cool of the day,"²⁷ still be ruler over him? Then why would Christ have to be ruler over all of the elect?

On the other hand, if one takes Lampe's first "testament," when considering all the aforementioned difficulties; and places it after the fall, it makes for less contradiction. First, the covenant of works maintains its own value. Adam's disobedience is left up to him, either on the

²⁵ *Geheimnis*, I, 142.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 143-144. Note the concept of felicity here. See pages 97-98 above, and footnote #126 on page 97 as well. Also see the discussion on pages 191-192 above.

²⁷ See Genesis 3:8.

basis of free will, or on mutability.²⁸ Second, in salvaging humanity after the fall, rather than annihilating it; which it deserved after Adam's disobedience; God implements his plan to send Christ, and to guarantee him for the salvation of the chosen. This would definitely bring the highest glory to Christ and the Father, for under these circumstances, God chooses to save some when all should be destroyed. This more fully corresponds to the first blessing "bequeathed" to the Son (i.e., the highest glory for his person). Third, Christ's role as ruler over the elect makes more sense; for the need of reestablishing a rule, or of "ruling", is facilitated by the chaos after the fall. This more fully corresponds to the Son's second "bequeathed" blessing (i.e., to rule over the elect). Fourth, the need to impart the Holy Spirit makes more sense if it is understood as being planned after the fall. For in the Garden, if humanity had not fallen, would the Spirit need to be imparted? Moreover, if such impartation was designed before the fall, then the fall, as suggested many times before, would appear to be a cruel part of God's plan. But if the Holy Spirit is understood as being a gift after our radical disobedience, then truly this identifies God as overly gracious, and brings glory to his name -- for why would God want to fill any person with his own presence in the midst of the darkness and separation of sin. Hence, placing election after the fall corresponds more fully with the Son's third "bequeathed" blessing (i.e., the blessing of his Spirit, which Christ can impart to his people). Finally, "bequeathing" Christ the blessing of being conqueror seems unusual before the fall. For if Adam would have obeyed, then he would have been the conqueror over the serpent's tempting. Now, unless Adam had no choice, why would Christ be assigned as conqueror before one was needed. Hence, if this "bequeathed" blessing (i.e., Christ's conquest over all his enemies) is viewed after the fall, then it too makes more sense.

Now, one might argue that God foreknew everything, and therefore, determined his plan accordingly. But in light of the doctrine of election, Lampe chose not to view God's actions as based on mere foreknowledge, but as based on a formal decision to chose some and to reject others.²⁹ Hence, would not such an understanding hold God responsible for sin, if he made a

²⁸ See discussion concerning mutability on pages 226-227 above.

²⁹ See: O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 70.

calculated decision for election and reprobation prior to the fall? But, if one views such a radical two-fold decision after the fall, where all of humankind deserves to die, then would it not be more gracious and loving, and in line with the biblical revelation of God as Father?

Therefore, if one takes the elements of Lampe's first "ethereal" testament, and places them with: (1) his rejection of foreknowledge within election; (2) the fact that the Old Testament primarily deals with that which comes after the fall; and (3) that the Old Testament is an "appendage, or appendix" of the first "ethereal" testament; then it appears that Lampe held to an infralapsarian view of election.

Furthermore, Lampe's infralapsarianism is supported when he says that the "elect are some from the doomed throng of sinners."³⁰ By itself, this statement may not prove anything, but since Lampe "opposes the supralapsarians for their assumption that God, in his eternal counsel, regards man as a sinful creature,"³¹ then it definitely supports infralapsarianism. For if God does not consider humankind as sinners in his pre-temporal planing, then why say that the elect are from the doomed throng of sinners. At the very least, if holding to supralapsarianism, would it not have been better for Lampe to have said: "The elect, who are numbered among sinners after the fall, are chosen by God." It is possible that this is Lampe's view. However, when developing his doctrine of election, Lampe also refers to John 15:19 and states that the elect "are elected from the world."³² Hence, in light of all this, there is a strong argument for claiming that Lampe held to an infralapsarian view of election.

However, even though there is a strong argument for infralapsarianism, there is also a strong argument for supralapsarianism in Lampe as well. For example, Lampe poetically states that the beginning of election "is before all beginnings, and [it] leads us into the inner tombs

³⁰ *Geheimnis*, I, 125.

³¹ O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 70.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 125-126. John 15:19 states: "If you belonged to the world, the world would love you as its own. Because you do not belong to the world, but I have chosen you out of the world -- therefore the world hates you."

[Grüfte] of eternity."³³ To support this thought in chapter four of his *Geheimnis*, Lampe also cites from I Corinthians 2:7, Ephesians 1:4, and II Timothy 1:9, which all make references to election, as being before the foundation of the world.³⁴ Furthermore, Lampe refers to Revelation 13:8 and 17:8 to claim that God has also chosen the reprobates before the beginning of the world as well.³⁵ Hence, in light of all this, there is no doubt that Lampe understood that

God, in the unfolding of His counsel from the beginning of the world, has been choosing some and passing over others for membership in His eternal kingdom.³⁶

What is interesting to notice with all of this, is that Lampe is unwilling to settle for one view of election over another. In fact, it seems as if the central issue involved in keeping with both views, as opposed to going with just one, rests in his concept of sin. For, as it was established in our discussion of Lampe's System A, if the one eternal covenant is viewed, or if the "first essential" is viewed alone, then sin looks more like just another piece of the "grand puzzle," rather than a break in a true covenant relationship. Likewise, in supralapsarianism, sin takes on the same appearance. However, on the other hand, if one views the "second essential" alone, then sin rests more on the shoulders of humanity; and in infralapsarianism, sin takes on this appearance as well. Basically, here is the classic tension between divine sovereignty and human responsibility, and Lampe, as stated many times before, does not resolve it. In fact, he poignantly states: "One does not need to dwell upon the difficulties that remain in this doctrine."³⁷

³³ *Geheimnis*, I, 147. Brackets mine.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 147-148. I Cor. 2:7 states: "But we speak God's wisdom, secret and hidden, which God decreed before the ages for our glory." Eph. 1:4 states: "...just as he chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world to be holy and blameless before him in love." II Tim. 1:9 states: "[God] saved us and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works but according to his own purpose and grace. This grace was given to us in Christ Jesus before the ages began...."

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 148. Rev. 13:8 says: "...and all the inhabitants on earth will worship it, everyone whose name has not been written from the foundation of the world in the book of life of the lamb that was slaughtered." Rev. 17:8 says: "The beast that you saw was, and is not, and is about to ascend from the bottomless pit and go to destruction. And the inhabitants of the earth, whose names have not been written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, will be amazed when they see the beast, because it was and is not and is to come."

³⁶ O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 70.

³⁷ *Geheimnis*, I, 152.

The reason the above tension has been pointed out has been to support Lampe's strict relationship between the doctrine of election and the concept of covenant. When the aforesaid tension, which expresses a similarity between election and the covenant partnership, is combined with Lampe's use of covenant within election, then there is no doubt to why Lampe called election and Christ's satisfaction (or the fulfillment of election) the first and second elements in the eternal covenant of grace.³⁸ For in light of all the details just given, it is clear that Lampe fundamentally understood election to be God's covenant to humanity.

When election is understood as covenant, then human responsibility within election, or human response to election, will, of course, be the same as that described under Lampe's concept of the eternal covenant partnership (or System A). And this is in fact the case; for we have already seen how human responsibility is involved in the *Heilsordnung*, and that it begins with the elect. Hence, the elect have responsibility. They must respond.

Now, in light of all this, if the *Heilsordnung* corresponds to history in such a way where a person plays a role by virtue of the system of seven-fold parallels, then it obviously means that the elect, can, and do, play a role in history. Hence, at this point we have come to the "bottom" of the thesis issue -- for this thesis set out to understand how Lampe could see an individual as playing a part in the advancing kingdom of God, or history, while still holding to a strict view of election, and/or predestination. For Lampe, the elect are the covenant partners, and they must respond as in covenant, and when in covenant, a person is in the "system of parallels"; and therefore, moves and effects the entire system proportionately. Hence, the elect can still effect history. Now, if history can be impacted by the elect, then can not history as well as the other "units" in the "system of parallels" impact and effect the elect? By virtue of the system of sevenfold parallels, which are structured around creation, and based on the basic tension of

³⁸ Lampe dedicates chapter four of book one of his *Geheimnis* to explain that election, and the establishing of the Church (which is comprised of those who are elect) is the first cause, or element [*Grund*] of the covenant of grace and/or the purpose of grace. In addition, Lampe dedicates chapter five of book one to explain that Jesus and his fulfillment of election is the second cause or element of the covenant of grace. See: *Geheimnis*, I, 117-203.

"containment" and "development", and by virtue of the concept of "revelatory reciprocity," if the elect effects history, then history effects the elect. Hence, one's responsibility is not only for one's own advancement, but for the advancement of the cosmic plan of God as well.

So far in this chapter, attention has been given to: (1) Lampe's evidence for a doctrine of election, which was based on the names for election, the dependency of all things on God, the election of whole nations, the rejection of some persons, the correspondence between prophecy and history, and the use of round, or exact, numerical values in scripture; (2) Lampe's acceptance of both a doctrine of supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism; (3) how Lampe's tension between supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism attributed to his understanding of election as covenant; (4) how Lampe applied the concept of covenant to election directly through his first and second testaments; and (5) how this identification of election with the concept of covenant established the author's argument that Lampe did in fact understand persons as having a definite role in history.

To complete our study on Lampe's understanding of election, it should also be noted that Lampe understood election as: (1) an exercise of God's "free pleasure";³⁹ (2) the elect as undeserving of it;⁴⁰ (3) the choice of God as being the actual establishment of salvation;⁴¹ and (4) the objective for election as being the "praise for the magnificent grace of God."⁴²

Furthermore, Lampe understood election as being synonymous with the concept of covenant, or at the very least, he understood it as being within the matrix of covenant making. Thus, he desired that his parishioners respond within election as they would within a covenant

³⁹ *Geheimnis*, I, 123-124.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 125-126.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, 127. This statement represents Lampe's high Calvinist view of election. However, as plainly as Lampe puts salvation in the determinism of God, Lampe also places it within the response of the believer; for Lampe also states: "The actual establishment [of salvation, or the covenant of grace] subsists in the agreement to the covenant of grace, [which] is portrayed through the offering of confession." See: *Ibid.*, I, 727-728. Also see pages 201-202 of this study.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 149.

obligation. Lampe, in being a practical theologian and pastor, also desired that persons not be bothered by the difficulties within the doctrine of election; and therefore sought

to mitigate the harshness of the doctrine of double predestination by affirming that: (1) 'a beginner on the road of life' must not probe too deeply into the question; (2) while in progress, one can never say categorically that he is not among the elect, for 'God can allow His grace to appear to [the] gravest sinners even in the last hour'; (3) our ability to detect signs of election in others is not trustworthy, for in this life 'one must begin from below' in the school of Christ; (4) God does not 'send an angel from heaven' to assure us of our election, for he wills that we should strive with patience for eternal life by means of good works; and (5) 'whoever lives under the use of the means of grace hears the summons of the Lord....'⁴³

With these additional details given, and with Lampe's doctrine of election fully explored, we are now ready to further our investigation into the thesis topic by comparing Lampe's view of election with Calvin and Cocceius.

Comparative Analyses and Additional Contributions to Lampe's Doctrine of Election

A Comparative Analysis with John Calvin

Calvin held to the supralapsarian view of election, which follows the cosmic order of: election, creation, the fall and redemption.⁴⁴ However, in his *Institutes*, Calvin does not place election under the doctrine of God, but in book three under his discussion on soteriology.⁴⁵ This, of course, goes against the trend of the rigid Calvinists of the Synod of Dort, and corresponds to Lampe's own perspective. For though Lampe spoke of both supralapsarianism and

⁴³ O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 70. Brackets mine.

⁴⁴ See page 67 above.

⁴⁵ John T. McNeill states: "While predestination is much stressed by Calvin, the formal treatment of the topic falls under the head not of the doctrine of God but of the doctrine of salvation, and is reserved to this point after the main outlines of the latter doctrine have been made clear." (*Institutes*, III.21.1; McNeill's ed., 920, footnote #1.) And François Wendel writes: "In [Calvin's] view, [predestination] was never to be discussed as an indulgence in metaphysical speculations, but to throw a fuller light upon the doctrine of justification by grace alone and to give a theological basis for ecclesiology." François Wendel, *Calvin Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, trans. Philip Mairet (1950; reprint, Durham: The Labyrinth Press, 1987), 269.

infralapsarianism, he placed both views within the concept of covenant; and the eternal covenant concept for Lampe had Christ and his work as its central theme. Hence, in short, by placing election under the definition of covenant, Lampe placed election under the doctrine of soteriology as well.

Like Lampe after him, Calvin drew his evidence for election from scripture. The elements of evidence for Calvin are primarily mirrored by Lampe. Hence, for Calvin, evidence for election is found in the election of Israel;⁴⁶ Christ's engrafting of the Gentiles;⁴⁷ the rejection of Esau and other Israelite individuals;⁴⁸ and the rejection of Judas.⁴⁹ However, Calvin does not speak about the "names" of election as providing evidence for the doctrine. Nor does he find evidence in the significance of numerical values in scripture, or the correspondence between prophecy and history. Hence, in light of the absence of these points in Calvin, and in light of the Cocceian and Vintrangan influence on Lampe, it is safe to say that Lampe received his additional evidence through the "prophetic-symbolic" method of exegesis.⁵⁰

Calvin understood the doctrine of election as being a double decree. Calvin understood God as electing some and rejecting others. Moreover, like Lampe after him, Calvin did not accept that double predestination was rested in God's foreknowledge. According to Calvin, God, out of his own free will and mercy, and on the basis of nothing external to himself, has chosen some for life and some for eternal damnation. Calvin's separation of foreknowledge from predestination is made clear when he writes:

We, indeed, place both doctrines [i.e., foreknowledge and predestination] in God, but we say that subjecting one to the other is absurd.

⁴⁶ Institutes, III.21.5; McNeill's ed., 927-928.

⁴⁷ Ibid., III.22.7; McNeill's ed., 940-941.

⁴⁸ Ibid., III.21.6; McNeill's ed., 929-930. Also see: Ibid., III.22.5; McNeill's ed., 937-938.

⁴⁹ Ibid., III.22.7; McNeill's ed., 941.

⁵⁰ See the definition for this methodology in Part II of this study, on pages 70-71 above.

When we attribute foreknowledge to God, we mean that all things always were, and perpetually remain, under his eyes, so that to his knowledge there is nothing future or past, but all things present.... We call predestination God's eternal decree, by which he compacted with himself what he willed to become of each man.⁵¹

If predestination depended upon God's foreknowledge of certain actions by humanity, then this would mean that God's will is dependent on something outside of himself; and this would diminish the sovereignty of God. Now, if God's sovereignty is diminished, then the human condition is subsequently elevated and pride and free will begin to displace humility and grace; and in the midst of humanity's total depravity such a displacement is absurd.⁵² Hence, by separating predestination and foreknowledge, Calvin reinforces the sovereignty of God, and the total depravity of humankind. And this in turn presents predestination as a totally gracious act of God -- for depraved humanity deserves annihilation, but God graciously decides to redeem part of his fallen creation. This is more grace than we deserve according to Calvin. Hence, by Calvin separating predestination from foreknowledge, he is consequently structuring election in the following way: (1) Election is based on God's free mercy. (2) Election is for God's glory -- for he reveals himself as loving and gracious in the midst of our corruption. And (3) election should serve for our own humility.

In holding to supralapsarianism, and of course, in being a follower of Calvin, it comes as no surprise that Lampe held to the same basic structure in his doctrine of predestination.⁵³ Moreover, it comes as no surprise that Lampe would hold to Calvin's delineation of predestination and foreknowledge.⁵⁴ However, in our earlier discussion of Lampe's understanding of election, we saw how Lampe supported infralapsarianism through his implementation of the concept of

⁵¹ Institutes, III.21.5; McNeill's ed., 926. Also see: Wendel, 271-272.

⁵² Calvin states: "For his will is, and rightly ought to be, the cause of all things that are. For if it has any cause, something must precede it, to which it is, as it were, bound; this is unlawful to imagine.... When, therefore, one asks why God has so done, we must reply: because he has willed it." Institutes, III.23.2.

⁵³ See pages 246-247 above.

⁵⁴ See footnote#29 above.

covenant. Now, according to Good, in infralapsarianism, the fall is understood as foreseen by God and not as decreed by him. This is contrary to Calvin; for he clearly held to the latter position.⁵⁵ Hence, since Lampe holds to Calvin's supralapsarianism in all other respects, there is no doubt that he also understood sin to be decreed by God, "but overruled for his glory."⁵⁶ For one can not hold to seeing double predestination as coming before the fall unless sin is viewed as predetermined. However, as noted above, it appears as if Lampe held to infralapsarianism as well. Hence, how can Lampe hold to one view that denies predestination on the basis of foreknowledge, while holding to another that promotes it? Unfortunately, Lampe does not supply us with an explicit answer here, rather he simply builds his theology in the tension of both systems. In the end, the reason Lampe holds to both supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism, is that he is unwilling to see salvation, or election, as anything other than a synergistic relationship taking place within the grace and majesty of God.⁵⁷

In light of our comparative analysis with Calvin, it has been noted: (1) how Lampe differed slightly from Calvin in his evidence for election; (2) how Lampe followed Calvin in his basic structuring of the doctrine; and (3) how Lampe followed Calvin's formulation of the concept of foreknowledge. However, (4) Lampe also placed Calvin's understanding alongside infralapsarianism as well. Finally, Lampe followed Calvin in understanding the doctrine of election as the great mystery of God. Calvin writes:

Now consider the narrowness of your mind, whether it can be grasp what God has decreed with himself. What good will it do you in your mad search to plunge into the "deep," which your own reason tells you will be your destruction? ...Ignorance that believes is better than rash knowledge.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Institutes, III.23.7; McNeill's ed., 955-956.

⁵⁶ Taken from Good, see page 36, footnote #111 of this study. In addition, McNeill confirms Calvin's understanding of God overruling the fall, when he writes: "Calvin affirms Adam's original free will..., yet insists that Adam's fall was willed by God, thus demonstrating the feebleness of man's will and the power of divine grace and judgment." Institutes, III.23.7; McNeill's ed., 956, footnote #18.

⁵⁷ See page 81 above.

⁵⁸ Institutes, III.23.5; McNeill's ed., 953.

And in keeping with Calvin, Lampe states:

[The doctrine of election] also serves to impart a true and substantial trust for the people of God although the difficulties which it presents to reason can not yet be fully dispelled in our fragmented knowledge.⁵⁹

A Comparative Analysis with Johannes Cocceius:

In Part II of this paper, it was stated that Cocceius overlapped the infralapsarian view of election with the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. It was then stated that such an arrangement allowed for more human responsibility.⁶⁰ However, despite these comments, Cocceius' view itself was not fully identified. Hence, in order to better understand both Cocceius' and Lampe's theology, and their intimate relationship with each other, we must explore Cocceius' concept of election in more detail.

First, of course, it can be said, especially when considering the centrality of exegesis within his system,⁶¹ that Cocceius understood there to be plenty of scriptural evidence for the doctrine of predestination. As McCoy states:

Cocceius sees the meaning [of predestination] elaborated in the events recounted in Scripture, making it necessary to derive the meaning of God's decree from exegesis.⁶²

(Unfortunately, however, due to the sources available to this author, the latter did not discover how Cocceius listed or arranged the particular pieces of scriptural evidence, or the pertinent "events recounted in Scripture.")

Secondly, Cocceius, like Calvin, understood that all things proceed from God's will, and that God's will is not determined "by anything external to it," like foreknowledge.⁶³ Moreover,

⁵⁹ Lampe cited by O'Malley; O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 70. Brackets by O'Malley.

⁶⁰ See pages 67-68 above.

⁶¹ See page 74 above.

⁶² McCoy, 185. Brackets mine.

Cocceius understood God as issuing forth the eternal decree of predestination "before the foundation of the world."⁶⁴ But how can this be? All of this is contradictory to the claim that Cocceius was a covenant infralapsarian. Has a mistake been made, or does Cocceius hold to a tension between supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism, like that found in Lampe? The answer to this question lies in Cocceius' understanding of God's will as being twofold.

Calvin understood God's foreknowledge as strictly consequent to God's will; for he writes:

[God] foresees future events only by reason of the fact that he decreed that they take place, ...all things take place... by his determination and bidding.⁶⁵

However, Cocceius, did not hold to such a strict delineation, rather he comingled God's will with foreknowledge. For Cocceius claimed that God's will was comprised of two parts, the *antecedent will* and the *consequent will*.⁶⁶ The antecedent will of God is that part of his will that precedes foreknowledge, and the consequent will of God is that which comes after foreknowledge.

By making such a separation, Cocceius, on the one hand, is able to understand the fall as still being in the will of God, and thus, in a sense, decreed by him. However, at the same time, he is able to see the fall and sin as being under the consequent will of God, and therefore removes the responsibility of sin from God and places it primarily upon humanity. Likewise, Cocceius is able to understand double predestination as a direct decree, coming before the foundation of the world, for God's will is eternal and self-contained. Yet at the same time, Cocceius is able to see double predestination as a direct result of God's foreknowledge of the fall and humankind's misuse of their mutability. Hence, with his twofold delineation, Cocceius can hold to supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism at the same time.

⁶³ In making a reference to Cocceius' thoughts here, McCoy writes: "God's will from the beginning coordinates all things to accomplish His purpose. But it cannot be said that God's will is determined by anything external to it." McCoy, 180. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa Theo*," X, 51.

⁶⁴ McCoy, 179, 180. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa Theo*," X, 30, 48.

⁶⁵ *Institutes*, III.23.6; McNeill's ed., 954-955. Brackets mine.

⁶⁶ McCoy, 179. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa Theo*," X, 43-44.

Furthermore, by holding to a "two-in one" concept of God's will, Cocceius builds a platform in which to better understand his concept of covenant. Cocceius, like Lampe after him, understood there to be one single eternal covenant. Yet at the same time, he and Lampe understood that the covenant of works and the covenant of grace were of value in and of themselves. Now, by understanding God's will as the antecedent will, the beginning and end of all things are determined before they begin. Hence, God's antecedent will is one of singularity, all things are contained within it. Here is where the concept of one single eternal covenant corresponds to the will of God. On the other hand, God's consequent will is based on foreknowledge, and therefore, can be understood as a response to some outside condition. Accordingly, since the consequent will is a response, it must be implemented after that which formulated it. This is based on the following reasoning: If God implemented a planned response to an event before it happened, then it would not happen the way it originally was conceived as happening by God, and would therefore nullify the whole situation. Hence, with God's consequent will, God's implementation of his response to the fall takes place after the fall.⁶⁷ Thus, the covenant of grace is, in a sense, a separate or new decree from that of the covenant of works, in that it was a fresh implementation of God's consequent will. Yet, the covenant of grace is eternal in that all things are contained within God's antecedent will.

Accordingly, it is evident that Cocceius did not see God as making separate decrees at separate times, for both the antecedent and consequent will are the single will of God.⁶⁸ Hence, God did not decree to elect, then to create, then to permit the fall, and then to redeem. Rather he decreed all at once; and election, creation, the covenant of works, and the covenant of grace are all temporal arrangements of that one decree. Thus, from the outside looking in, or from God's perspective, there is but one decree, and one action; from the inside looking out, or from the

⁶⁷ McCoy, 179. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa Theo*," X, 35.

⁶⁸ Cocceius states: What God wills, that is, what he commands into existence, He does not command and call at different times or in distinct acts, but rather in one most single act. Cited in: McCoy, 180. Also see: Cocceius, "*Summa Theo*," X, 48.

human position, there are several events, and each with their own validity in comprising the whole. Hence, in light of all of this, it is clear why Cocceius, as paraphrased by Heppe, says that

the stereotyped proposition in Reformed Dogmatics, that 'what is last in execution is first in intention', is true *apud Duem* only in the formulation that 'what is last in execution is primary in intention'.⁶⁹

Now, all of this is important for our discussion of Lampe for two reasons. First, since Cocceius understood there to be a pre-temporal covenant of redemption, or a pre-temporal decree to send the Son,⁷⁰ and since he understood all decrees of God to be within a single eternal degree of his will, then Cocceius, like Lampe after him, understood election as being synonymous with the eternal covenant partnership. Now, since Lampe, understood election to be synonymous with the eternal covenant partnership;⁷¹ held to a tension between supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism; and held to a view of covenant that saw both the eternal and temporal aspects (i.e., the first and second essentials); then it is definitely safe to say that Lampe held to the Cocceian view of the twofold nature of God's will.⁷² And if Lampe held to the twofold concept of God's will, then his willingness to hold to both views of predestination (i.e., supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism) is more clearly understood, for if one were viewed without the other, one would make God's will incomplete.

The second reason why our investigation into Cocceius' comprehension of election and the will of God has been beneficial for us, is that it implicitly provides a model of "containment" and "progression" within the will of God. On the one hand, God's will is contained, or uniformed, in that it is antecedent will. On the other hand, God's will is progressive, or responsive to change, in that it is consequent will. Now, since God's will contains the elements of "containment" and

⁶⁹ Heppe, 82. Also see: McCoy, 180.

⁷⁰ See chapter VI, footnote #91, on page 152 above.

⁷¹ See pages 246-247 above.

⁷² This author must confess that, at the present stage of research, he has not found explicit statements that show Lampe defining God's will in the Cocceian manner. However, despite this fact, the aforementioned similarities clearly show that such a definition is implicit within his thought.

"progression", and since all things can not have there being or essence outside of God's will,⁷³ then it is certainly safe to say that all things exhibit "containment" and "progression." Now, if all things have containment and progression, then all things are parallel, for they parallel each other in having these two central characteristics. Thus, with God's will being defined in a twofold manner, we have the foundation for the "system of parallels," which says that the pre-temporal covenant, scripture, history, and the individual parallel each other through "containment" and "progression".

Synthesis and Summation

In considering the strong argument for Lampe's adherence to the Cocceian view of God's will, and since Lampe understood all things as having their being in the will of God,⁷⁴ it becomes clear to why it has been argued that Lampe implicitly based his whole system on the "system of parallels". However, at this point, one might argue that such a parallelism is too general, or vague, to serve as the bases for arguing that Lampe, while holding to a strict view of God's sovereignty, saw an individual as playing a significant role in salvation and history. Yet, Lampe does not base his system on the "system of parallels" alone. Rather, he puts it together with his analogy of creation. This analogy with creation is nothing more than Lampe's understanding of how the "progression" side of the "containment" and "progression" system, which stems from God's will, should be carried out.

At this point one should ask: How can anyone know that there are seven steps in God's will? The answer here, according to Lampe is through creation. God's will as it relates to creation is first visible with creation. And if God's will, as it relates to creation, is first revealed in scripture as involving seven days, then there must be some significance to the number seven, and to the concept of "day". Interestingly, when dealing with prophecy and its relation to

⁷³ McCoy states: "Cocceius understands God to be the ultimate agency by which all things occur; nothing can take place apart from His will, and all eventualities are provided for within the eternal decree." McCoy, 179.

⁷⁴ See footnote #5 above.

eschatology, Lampe understands "day" as meaning year.⁷⁵ However, in the context of creation, Lampe does not consider the term "day" as representing a year, or a "prophetic day", but rather considers it as an actual recording of a sequence of time. Yet, the significance here is not in a twenty four hour period, but on the implementation of a set length of time. This is made evident through Lampe's punctilious ordering of every aspect of his theology -- for he does not attribute seven days or years to any "unit" in his system, rather he simply adheres to the use of a sevenfold sequence involving various, though pre-established, lengths of time. Hence, God's will for creation is first revealed as involving sequence. Furthermore, this sequence must find its completion in seven steps, for why would God choose seven in creating, if this were not the case? Hence, God's will as we know it, as revealed through scripture, first involves a sevenfold sequential order.

The revelation of sequential order expresses that God's will for us involves stages, and since we were created with mutability,⁷⁶ we are able to change, or develop with each stage provided for us. (Interestingly, this suggests a sevenfold Irenaean concept for pre-fall humanity.)⁷⁷ Now, after the fall, God implements his covenant of grace, or election. By God's grace, humanity, and creation in general, is not destroyed. Therefore, God's emphasis on sequential order in creation, and our mutability is still in tact. Hence, this means that God's implementation of the covenant of grace, or election, is to be carried out in sequential order and on our ability to change. In other words, our election, from the perspective of God's consequent will, and from our own perspective, is conditional on our ability to change, and is progressive. Hence, this is where the *Heilsordnung* enters the picture. For it is the sevenfold sequential pattern of salvation, or of the fulfillment of election, and we step through it on the basis of conditional obedience.

⁷⁵ See chapter IX, footnote #55, on page 287 below.

⁷⁶ See discussion on pages 226-231 above.

⁷⁷ See pages 229-231 above.

Yet, alongside the individual's progression in salvation, there is also the cosmic progression of salvation, or the cosmic renewal of creation and history. Since history is made up of time, nature, and individuals; and since humanity, who is the supreme creation, has fallen; all of nature is corrupt, and any events formed between humanity and time are corrupt as well. Hence, the only way history can be redeemed, is by the same way God redeemed individuals -- through Christ. Hence, by implementing his covenant of grace, God began the conversion of history. God turned all of history toward Christ. Then when Christ came, he redeemed what had gone before him, and set what would come after him toward his second coming. This is why Lampe calls Christ the center of history.⁷⁸ Moreover, this is why regeneration and justification set at the middle of Lampe's *Heilsordnung*.⁷⁹ For as the elect are fully established in the covenant of grace through confession, at the center of the *Heilsordnung*, so the incarnation of Christ fully establishes the covenant of grace in history.

In keeping with the above parallel, if individuals have responsibility in their salvation, or election, through conditional obedience, then does not history have responsibility in its salvation, or renewal. However, history is not a sentient entity, rather it is comprised of individuals. Hence, individuals have responsibility in the salvation of history. Now, since individual salvation, or the covenant of grace on the individual level, deals with elected individuals, then the salvation of history must deal with the corporate body of elected individuals. This corporate body is what Lampe calls the "true" or "inward" Church; and he believed that the "inward" Church was comprised of earnest Christians like those he met with in conventicles and instructed with the Catechism.⁸⁰ Hence, as the elect become more earnest through discipline and instruction, the true church becomes more earnest; and just as perfect holiness is attained through earnest diligence in

⁷⁸ See: Geheimnis, IV, 10. Also see Möller, 412. Also see discussion on pages 221-222 above.

⁷⁹ See pages 221-222 above.

⁸⁰ O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith, 75. For Lampe's use of the Catechism, see the first full paragraph on page 112 above.

the individual, so it will be attained in the corporate body. And as the corporate body, or the church, becomes more perfected, history comes closer to its end.⁸¹

Now, as an individual is earnest in his walk with Christ, he will progress through the *Heilsordnung*, and each step within the *Heilsordnung* is associated with "urgings" of the Spirit, and outward "evidences" of ones "status".⁸² Likewise, each transition and period in history is associated with "urgings" and "evidences" of the Holy Spirit as well.⁸³ On the one hand, the "signs" of cosmic progression are made known to an individual through the witness of the Spirit in the correlation of the economies of history and prophecy.⁸⁴ On the other hand, the "signs" of

⁸¹ In a discussion on the attainment of holiness, where he overlaps his emphasis on both personal and corporate holiness, Lampe writes: "One light ignites the other, and two coals of fire lying together simply make the heat stronger." (Lampe cited in: O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 320.) And elsewhere he states: "Without [holiness] no church of God can be a church.... If we want those who are covenant-partners of God to go to work, let us begin to seek those lost footprints [of true holiness] with renewed diligence.... The use of the means of grace will bring us to the highest stage of holiness through God's assistance...." Lampe cited in: O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 315, 316, 320. Brackets mine.

⁸² Lampe clearly expresses his understanding of the steps of the *Heilsordnung* as coming from the Spirit, and his affirmation of outward "evidences" of holiness as assisting one in evaluating her position within the *Heilsordnung*, when he writes: "'We all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being changed into His likeness from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit.' And this illumination will grow more and more nigh when we *examine* how much more purely the duties toward God can be carried out than can the duties toward ourselves and our neighbors. (Lampe cited in: O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 325. Emphasis mine.) Furthermore, in consideration of Lampe's thought here, O'Malley states: "The original [term for 'examine'] is '*besehen*'; Lampe's expression suggests that one's personal growth in godly illumination, issuing in holiness, is charted by empirical observation, even as advances in natural science were then being charted by the emergent scientific method." O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 339.

⁸³ Concerning this, Lampe writes: "Some divide the time of the New Testament [or history in the context of the New Testament] into equal parts, others divide it into unequal parts [or seven parts], thinking that there is more to be seen of the Holy Spirit in the differences of things than in the similarities of times. We count ourselves among the latter.... Whoever vouches for the history of these seven periods of time will recognize that each one possesses something that distinguishes it from the others.... *Geheimnis*, V, 269-270.

⁸⁴ Möller states: "The agreement between time and prophecy is one of the exegetical presuppositions of the Cocceian school.... Indeed, the Holy Spirit puts the predicted events in prophecy in the same order in which they should take place in reality. (Möller, 423. Also see chapter VI, footnotes 120 and 121, on pages 164-165 above.) And when speaking on the same relationship between history and prophecy, Möller writes: "Prophetic theology tries to describe world history with the material evidence [or signs] of biblical prophecy, through which, of course, only a small piece of the whole can be comprehended. Lampe is a good example of this, in that every possible secular historical event is explained as fulfillment of prophecy." Möller, 417. Brackets mine. Also see: *Geheimnis*, II, 49.

one's own progression is made known through: the internal witness of the Spirit;⁸⁵ seeing increased "Christlikeness" in one's daily activity⁸⁶ and increased knowledge in the church;⁸⁷ and by viewing the "signs of the times."⁸⁸ Furthermore, just as fulfilled prophecies were fulfilled in the incarnation of Christ, and unfulfilled prophecies point toward his coming kingdom; so do promises, which have already been realized by an individual, point to progress already made in one's life, and promises left to be experienced, point to the furthering of one's perfection.

This concludes our synthesis of Lampe's systems of grace as viewed from the progressive human perspective, and from the perspective of the consequent will of God. However, one should recall that Lampe also understood the pre-temporal covenant as one eternal covenant in which all things are contained. Hence, in this coexisting view, Lampe followed Cocceius and understood election, creation, the fall, and redemption as all rolled up in a single action of God. Uniquely, however, Lampe's practical Pietist orientation kept him from focusing on the "containment" side of things, while his traditional Reformed orthodoxy kept him from entirely surrendering to the "progressive" side.

⁸⁵ When describing the stages and duties of holiness, and the nature of those persons who respond to such stages and duties, Lampe writes: "God beams more brightly in them...." (Cited in O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 325.) This is primarily synonymous with saying: "As a person steps through the *Heilsordnung* the Spirit presents an increased testimony within them."

⁸⁶ Lampe writes: "Since believers are partakers of His Spirit, they must... be transformed by His likeness.... His disciples may really be considered imitators, since they are to walk as He walked.... They [must] give evidence of (a) His love..., (b) His meekness and humility..., (c) His patience..., (d) His self-denial..., (e) and His entire, unblemished walk." Cited in: O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 319.

⁸⁷ Lampe writes: "According to the way that knowledge increases in the church, so also is there a corresponding increase in holiness. And therefore the splendor of holiness will break through all the more brightly in the last times...." (Cited in: O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 328.) In addition to this, Lampe also writes: "The acknowledgment of the ways of God in his Church must go hand in hand with strength and life." *Geheimnis*, II, 38-39.

⁸⁸ Lampe writes: "If we have begun to set our feet upon the way of holiness, there is nothing that can incite us more to stepping forth untiringly than when we consider the times in which we live...." (Cited in: O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 329.) When one holds this note in connection with footnotes 86 and 87 above, it is clear that the "criterion for commending holiness of life is thereby not only the witness of Scripture but also the witness of the continuing unfolding of salvation history ("*Heilsgeschichte*") within secular history." O'Malley, Wayfaring and Warfaring, 341. See chapter VI, footnote #120, on page 164 above. Also see footnote #84 above.

In "overlapping the transparencies" (i.e., the first "essential", the second "essential", and election), or in synthesizing the primary material presented throughout Part III of this study, we have consequently identified Lampe's working tension and his practical orientation. More specifically, we have been provided with the essential argumentation for addressing the thesis topic: that Lampe did in fact see humans as having a role within history while maintaining a tendency toward high Calvinist predeterminism.

A few final points should be made. First, by subjecting all of the primary elements within Lampe's system of thought to a comparative analysis between Calvin and Cocceius, we learned how Lampe, as well as Cocceius, did not try to remove, or necessarily alleviate, the contradictoriness of the doctrine of supralapsarianism. Rather, as "proper" moderates,⁸⁹ they fully implemented it into their thinking, while holding infralapsarianism in their theological systems as well.

Second, in systematically stepping through each essential aspect within Lampe's system of grace, it has been seen how complex Lampe's thinking really is. For even though Lampe practically orientates his thinking toward the well-being of his parishioners, and to the advancement of the kingdom of God, there is no doubt that his system of grace portrays a great deal of intelligence. Furthermore, in showing how the individual relates to history through the corporate body of the Church, we discovered that half of Lampe's system (i.e., the progression of history) utilizes the relationship between the Church and God's progressive revelation. Hence, how can anyone charge all Pietists as being "anti-intellectual" and "hyper-individualistic".⁹⁰

Third, by showing that Lampe understood the true Church as those earnest Christians that he met in conventicles and instructed with the Catechism; and by showing how he saw earnest Christians as having a role in the advancing of the coming kingdom; we found substantiation for Lampe's understanding of the Heidelberg Catechism as being progressive and eschatological.⁹¹

⁸⁹ See page 128 above.

⁹⁰ See chapter II, footnote #15, on page 38 above.

⁹¹ See pages 69-73 above.

Fourth, by systematically comparing Lampe's central points to Cocceius, we discovered how Lampe truly adhered to the five Cocceian approaches to covenant theology. First, the entire "system of parallels" between "containment" and "progression" is rooted in the Cocceian understanding of scripture as being "uniformed" and "developmental".⁹² Furthermore, Lampe clearly bases his doctrine of election in scripture; and for Lampe, election is primarily equivalent with the covenant of grace.⁹³ Hence, no more needs to be said to express that Lampe followed Cocceius in having a central biblicism.⁹⁴

Second, though Lampe's system is very philosophical, there are no contributions made by philosophers. Moreover, the philosophical aspects of the eternal covenant partnership are "downplayed" by Lampe in favor of a practical and moderate orientation. Hence, Lampe follows Cocceius in approaching theology independent of philosophy.⁹⁵

Third, Lampe obviously followed Cocceius on his emphasis on interpretation.⁹⁶ For the fact that Lampe sees scripture as "contained" and "progressive" clearly expresses that he understood scripture as a harmonious whole comprised of many parts.⁹⁷ Furthermore, though Lampe does seek out scriptures to confirm his position on the doctrine of election and eschatology,⁹⁸ he always backs off from indoctrinating by warning to leave mysteries in the hands

⁹² See pages 155-156 above.

⁹³ See footnote #38 above.

⁹⁴ The first "approach" of Cocceian theology is that it is biblical. See page 74 above.

⁹⁵ The second Cocceian "approach" to theology claims that theology is to be independent of philosophy. See pages 76-77 above.

⁹⁶ The third unique "approach" of Cocceian theology is its emphasis on interpretation. See pages 77-79 above.

⁹⁷ The first and second factors of Cocceius' understanding of interpretation says that scripture must be revealed through the Holy spirit, and that it must be understood as many parts comprising an organic whole. See pages 77-78 above.

⁹⁸ See pages 238-242 above, and Part IV of this study.

of God. Thus, he truly tries to let the texts speak for themselves by bringing numerous passages together and allowing God to have the final say.⁹⁹

In addition to all this, Lampe does not practice individual interpretation.¹⁰⁰ For example, when gathering evidence for his doctrine of election, he draws from passages that were interpreted in the same way by Calvin. In any event, in places where he does exercise independent interpretation, as was hinted to in his understanding of the Last Judgment and Revelation 20:11-15,¹⁰¹ he leaves it open for further debate. Hence, Lampe does not try to place his interpretation above another.¹⁰²

Furthermore, in keeping with the last aspect of the third Cocceian approach to theology, Lampe definitely understood scripture as centered around Christ.¹⁰³ For Lampe sees the entire "system of parallels" as centered around Christ, and the entire "system of parallels" as having its root in the revelation of scripture.¹⁰⁴

Next, there is absolutely no doubt that Lampe held to Cocceius' fourth approach to theology; because this "approach" provided the two fundamental principles -- i.e., the idea of covenant as first existing in the Trinity and the idea of covenant as being progressive -- which we used to base our delineation of Lampe's system into the first and second "essential."¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ The third factor in the Cocceian view of interpretation is that one must approach scripture to discover meaning, not to confirm dogma. See page 78 above.

¹⁰⁰ The fourth characteristic of the Cocceian approach to interpretation is that there should not be any kind of individual interpretation. See pages 78-79 above.

¹⁰¹ See pages 207-210 above. Lampe's complete thought on the Last Judgment will be given in Part IV of this paper.

¹⁰² See pages 78-79 above.

¹⁰³ The final characteristic of the Cocceian view of interpretation and hermeneutical method is that all of scripture is centered around Christ. See page 79 above.

¹⁰⁴ See pages 165-166 above.

¹⁰⁵ The fourth Cocceian "approach" to theology is that of a unique historical methodology. See pages 79-84. Also see pages 125-126 above.

Finally, our investigation into Lampe's system of grace has shown that Lampe followed Cocceius' fifth "approach", or understood that the idea of covenant effects all aspects of humanity, including social and environmental interaction.¹⁰⁶ For by placing the individual as another "unit" within the entire "system of parallels";¹⁰⁷ and by expressing the individual's impact on the corporate body of the Church;¹⁰⁸ it is clear that Lampe understood a person's actions as having ramifications in both the natural and social spheres.

Another point to be made here, is that in presenting the primary material throughout Part III, we saw in detail how Lampe followed Lodensteyn's and Untereyck's teachings. First, in light of Lampe's seven steps, or aspects, in confession,¹⁰⁹ it is clear that Lampe followed the Lodensteynian idea of inspired contemplation within salvation.¹¹⁰ Next, it is clear from: (1) the application of the steps in the *Heilsordnung* as a barometer for one's spiritual condition; (2) the emphasis on earnest Christians as having a participation in the coming kingdom of Christ; and (3) from the view on the continuance of legal obedience under grace; that Lampe understood the movement toward perfection as being the highest duty of humanity, and essential to individual and corporate ethics.¹¹¹ Furthermore, since Lampe understood all of these things as being part of the temporal and progressive side of the pre-temporal eternal plan of God, there is no doubt that he

¹⁰⁶ The fifth and final unique Cocceian "approach" to theology is that of the Cocceian emphasis on a covenantal view of human nature, which involves social and environmental interaction. See pages 84-87 above.

¹⁰⁷ See pages 170-173.

¹⁰⁸ See pages 259-260 above.

¹⁰⁹ See page 201 above.

¹¹⁰ The first shared theme between Lodensteyn and Lampe was the idea of inspired contemplation within salvation. See pages 89-90 above.

¹¹¹ The second and third shared themes between Lodensteyn and Lampe was the movement toward perfection as being the highest duty of humanity, and self-denial and the total concentration of one's life as being the essentials in Christian living. See pages 90-92 above.

understood the purpose of humanity, and of the entire "system of parallels," as being for the glory of God and his purposes.¹¹²

In respect to Untereyck, when one combines Lampe's understanding of the universal effects of the fall and his psychological categories with his concern for each person to advance within the *Heilsordnung*, it is clear that Lampe was concerned as a pastor about negative emotions, and spiritual dryness.¹¹³ Moreover, in understanding agony as being within the sinner, Lampe conversely attested to his understanding of felicity in believers. When this is combined with the fact that Lampe understood felicity as a blessing of election, it is clear that Lampe held to both of the concepts from Saldenus and Taffin, which were evident in Untereyck.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, in light of Lampe's understanding of the "federal principle" and his emphasis on the continuance of obedience as being rooted in love; and the eschatological dynamic applied to one's movement through the *Heilsordnung*; it is clear that Lampe followed Untereyck and stressing the classical Reformed doctrine of good works and self-denial as well. When one adds all of this to Lampe's use of catechization and conventicles as vehicles for the covenant progression of the individual, the Church, and history; and maintains that Lampe understood all progression as contained within the Cocceian understanding of the will of God; then one arrives at the full expression of the "Untereyckian fusion" within Lampe.

Finally, in looking at of the essential elements within Lampe's system of grace, we constantly found ourselves dealing with the issue concerning who was responsible for sin. Every time we came across this issue, it was left unresolved. However, by making a comparative analysis between Lampe's understanding of election and Cocceius' understanding, we discovered a possible "solution" for the problem. By understanding God's will to be comprised of an

¹¹²The fourth shared theme between Lodensteyn and Lampe was the goal of humanity as being the glory of God. See pages 91-92 above.

¹¹³ One of the shared themes between Untereyck and Lampe was that of a pastoral concern for negative emotions, or spiritual dryness. See pages 98-101 above.

¹¹⁴ Another shared theme between Untereyck and Lampe was the concept of felicity. See pages 96-98 above.

antecedent and consequent will, we found that sin can be understood as both the design of God, and as the "free" disobedience of humanity. Now, one might rightfully argue that this does not resolve the tension, but simply places the tension into the arena of God's will, rather than in some other theological construct. However, for the practical Lampe, who most likely held to the Cocceian twofold view, if the tension exists in God's will, then the tension is intended. Hence, in light of such a probable view for Lampe, sin must be understood as being permitted by God through design and as part of the overall plan; while at the same time it must be understood as human disobedience and disloyalty to the covenant plan of God.¹¹⁵

Our conclusion of Lampe's entire system of grace can best be summarized by the four points that Möller declares as being the consequences of holding to a two-sided concept of covenant (or in holding to both election, or the first "essential", and the second "essential"). Möller writes:

(1) The fall no longer has the significance of a radical break in the history of Humankind. So it is possible to see the development before and after the fall as being of one piece. (2) The idea of development is related to human history as a whole, as it is contained in the divine plan... Cocceian [or Lampean] theology embraces the whole history of the world. (3) Since Christ is, so to speak, the principle for the formation of human history, then faith in him, which places individual Christians into this great relationship, is essentially faith in history: the individual man consciously fits into a greater whole, which has been revealed to him through the Bible as a divine plan.¹¹⁶ (4) The harmonizing of creation and salvation shows itself in a double manner... (a)... Christ is not only the middle point and goal of creation, but also its Lord.... [And] (b)... history is a realm for the manifestation of grace.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ See pages 178-180 above.

¹¹⁶ Here Möller provides a footnote, in which he cites Lampe. Möller writes: "This great relationship [i.e., between Christ and history], which arches over and absorbs every individual, is primary for the Cocceian method of observation. Also however, alongside this [great relationship], a corresponding development takes place within the individual... This [idea] has been presented by Lampe and Witsius as a standard system in the form of a mystical system of degrees. For a particular example [of this idea], I present the following statement from Lampe's *Geheimnis*: 'A person is one small world, I dare say that each Christian is one small church! Therefore, the seven stages of creation must not only be noted as an image of the whole economy of grace from time to time, but also as an image of the works of grace in each and every soul.'" Möller, 411. Brackets mine. The statement from Lampe is taken from: *Geheimnis*, IV, 211.

¹¹⁷ Möller, 411, 413. Brackets mine.

With all this said, we have not only addressed the second, third, and fourth sub-problems of the thesis issue (i.e., to identify: Lampe's understanding of salvation and one's appropriation of it; Lampe's understanding of history; and to compare Lampe's views in these matters with Calvin and Cocceius) but, as stated earlier, we have also provided the essential argumentation for addressing the thesis topic: that Lampe did in fact see humans as having a role within history while maintaining a tendency toward high Calvinist predeterminism. Furthermore, we have also shown how all the "schools of influence," which were mentioned in Part II of this study, fit within Lampe's theological system as well. Now, Lampe's eschatology remains to be studied.

There are four reasons for why Lampe's eschatology should be examined: First, Lampe understood the individual and history as progressing to a seventh and final stage of glorification, or perfection, which would bring consummate meaning to all the stages leading up to it.¹¹⁸ Moreover, since the final consummation of history includes the consummation of all the other "units" within Lampe's "system of parallels,"¹¹⁹ one only needs to look at Lampe's seventh step of glorification in history to understand the final meaning of the entire system.

The second reason for why we need to study Lampe's eschatology is that through combining his Pietist concerns with the eschatological dynamic of the "system of parallels", Lampe integrated chiliasm into the Reformed "'mainline' (magisterial) church tradition."¹²⁰ Moreover, as O'Malley states: Prior to [Lampe], chiliasm had been restricted to medieval apocalypticism and the radical reformers."¹²¹ Hence, with such a great impact, it is certainly

¹¹⁸ In presenting Lampe's thoughts here, O'Malley states: "The Word, nature, and history all bear witness for the *"Nachfolger Christi"* of the coming, decisive consummation toward which his personal pilgrimage is directed and from which it derives its deepest meaning...." O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 298.

¹¹⁹ This thought corresponds with, and is founded upon, the thought represented in footnote #116 above.

¹²⁰ J. Steven O'Malley, "The Role of Pietism in the Theology of Jürgen Moltmann," *The Asbury Theological Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 124.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 123. Brackets mine. O'Malley's original sentence reads: "Prior to Joachim, chiliasm had been restricted to medieval apocalypticism and the radical reformers." However, it is clear from both the context in which this sentence is given, and the chronological content of the sentence itself, that O'Malley is speaking of Lampe here, and not Joachim. This is simply a mistake in editing; and Dr. O'Malley affirmed this to be the case in a phone conversation with the author on 7/20/95.

important that we examine his chiliastic views; and to properly do so, we must examine his complete eschatology.

The third reason for examining Lampe's eschatology, is that he offers an "open-ended" opinion on the Last Judgment. His thoughts on this issue entertain a line of thought that has been traditionally understood as coming after him. Hence, with the possibility of resetting the clock of tradition, one can easily see why it is vital that we make such an examination.

Finally, in examining Lampe's eschatology, we will also discover direct evidence for arguing that Lampe did in fact understand individuals as being able to advance the coming kingdom through their active obedience in Christ.

Hence, in considering the vast significance of Lampe's eschatology, it is essential that it be presented in its totality. Therefore, Part IV of this study will provide a complete translation of chapter thirteen of book five of Lampe's *Geheimnis*, which represents Lampe's treatment of the seventh period of history and the end of the world.

PART IV

LAMPE'S ESCHATOLOGY

In Part III of this paper it was shown how Lampe used a sevenfold "system of parallels," which derived its sequential order from the creation event, in his development of the eternal covenant partnership. More specifically, it was shown how Lampe applied seven steps to the *Heilsordnung*, and how these steps directly corresponded to seven steps in history.¹ Moreover, since human responsibility is involved in the *Heilsordnung*, and since the nature of all things exists within the "containment" and "progression" of God's will, it was shown that humanity does in fact play a part in the "progression" of history.² Furthermore, in establishing this connection, we also discovered that as an individual progresses along the steps of the *Heilsordnung*, he/she must not only examine his/her spiritual condition, from the perspective of the immediate evidences of his/her spirituality (i.e., his/her change of attitude, his/her increased faithfulness in daily disciplines, etc.), but he/she should also examine his/her condition from the state of affairs in the times in which he/she lives. If history progresses proportionately to one's own progression, then history mirrors the individual, as the individual mirrors history.³ (Here is the principle of reciprocity.) Hence, for Lampe, the meaning of history is that history not only serves as the arena for the glory of God, but also as a spiritual barometer for the elect.

With this understanding of history, one can understand why it is so important to examine Lampe's eschatology -- for it not only describes the glorious end of history, but it also describes, on a macro level, what an individual can experience on a micro level. Furthermore, it offers the encouragement to believers to keep on "keeping on." For if persons would earnestly walk with

¹ See pages 221-222 above.

² See pages 257 ff..

³ See chapter VI, footnote #120, on page 164 above. Also see chapter VIII, footnote #84 and 88, on page 261 above.

Christ, and seek holiness, they could better the times around them, and once history is improved well enough, Christ will issue forth his perfect holiness to all his people and return.⁴

The other reasons for why it is important to examine Lampe's eschatology were given at the close of Part III. Hence, let us thereby review his divisions in history. Then, after this short review is given, a full translation of chapter thirteen of book five of the *Geheimnis*, which represents Lampe's full eschatology, will be presented. This translation will include Lampe's paragraph reference numbers, so possible correspondence to the original will be more accommodating for the reader. Furthermore, the reader may want to pay close attention to the footnotes in this section, for they not only represent technical data concerning the translation, but also offer commentary and historical development on pertinent issues within Lampe's understanding of the end times. Finally, following the translation, there will be a review and summary of Lampe's understanding of the Last Judgment, and the conclusion to this paper.

⁴ Lampe writes: "If we have begun to set our feet upon the way of holiness, there is nothing that can incite us more to stepping forth untiringly than when we consider the times in which we live, for that is the chief purpose of the Lord Jesus, as He fulfilled the work of holiness. The work of holiness within His people may not proceed until such a rich means of grace has been granted unto us, and we are made more fit for fellowship with Him and with the Father.... In order for this purpose to reach us, we must not discontinue our reliance upon the numerous sovereign promises that the Lord has made with His people, and to which he has bound himself...." Cited in: O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 329-330.

CHAPTER IX

LAMPE'S SEVENTH STAGE IN HISTORY AND THE CONCLUSION

A Review of Lampe's Divisions of History

The method of dividing history into seven divisions begins has a long tradition that begins with Augustine. Augustine divided history into seven one thousand year periods, of which he claimed the final period to be a spiritual Millennium that began with Christ. His system was based on an analogy with creation, and on the chronological appraisal of the age of humankind. Augustine simply understood humanity to be at the end of its sixth millennium at the time of the incarnation.

Another person to divide history into seven periods, was Joachim of Fiore (1132-1202). He based his sevenfold system on the seven letters of the Apocalypse. Contrary to Augustine, Joachim understood the final millennium to be a spiritual era on earth. This chiliastic understanding was rejected by the Church in Joachim's day, and was considered radical among the Reformers. Moreover, though the Cocceian school of thought adopted Joachim's periodization of the New Testament,⁵ not all federalists accepted Joachim's chiliastic views into their covenantal system. As noted earlier, it was not until Lampe, with his unique "Untereyckian fusion," that chiliasm became accepted in the mainline Reformed tradition.

Though Lampe received his chiliastic thinking primarily through the Joachite influence among the federal school of thought, the formulation of his divisions in history is entirely different

⁵ However, according to Möller, Cocceians did not rely entirely on Joachim of Fiore for the "aquisition of the seven periods of the Church." Möller writes: "Cocceians do not only rely on Joachim of Fiore for the acquisition of the seven periods of the Church from the revelation of John, but they also rely on "many reformers." Majus, who is generally of the opinion that the Federalist principles have their origin in Lutheranism and have only been elaborated by Reformed thinkers, refers to Luther's introduction to the Apocalypse for the details of the seven periods. And Van der Honert reels off the following as the forerunners to Cocceius' division of periods: Ambrosius Ansbertus, Joachim of Fiore, Robert le Canu (*Tractatus vernaculus de festis Israelis*), Jacob von dem Paradise, and Johannes Sakerides Warmenhousanus. The latter, in addition to John Bale, is cited in van Til as the author of "Reformed time." Möller, 426-427.

than that of Joachim's. Joachim takes his analogies with creation and the letters of the Apocalypse, and overlaps them with various numerical formulations involving the use of three, four, five and twelve, which all represent "sacred" numbers in scripture.⁶ Lampe is less complex, and simply rests on the number seven as revealed through creation.

Now, one might think that Lampe gathered his sevenfold division of history from Cocceius. However, though the latter broke the Old Testament down into six divisions, and the New Testament into seven,⁷ he primarily used a fourfold division for the whole of history.⁸ Lampe on the other hand, though he followed Cocceius in breaking down the whole of history into four parts, he also broke it down into three, and seven.⁹ Now, though Lampe received his sevenfold division of the New Testament from Cocceius,¹⁰ it is unclear, when considering the above variances, where Lampe received his particular sevenfold division of the whole of history. Perhaps it is simply best to say that Lampe's sevenfold division of history comes from a combination of Augustinian, Joachite, Cocceian, and personal thought.¹¹

Lampe does not spend much time developing his periodization of the whole of history, or of the Old and New Testament Church, but rather he dedicates book five of his *Geheimnis* to the periodization of the New Testament Church. This makes sense on the bases that Lampe

⁶ See: West and Zimdars-Swartz, 18-19.

⁷ Möller, 422. Also see chapter VI, footnote #118, on page 163 above.

⁸ McCoy, 177-178. Also see pages 162-164 and footnote #118 on page 163 above.

⁹ Lampe's division of history into three parts, is reminiscent of Joachim, for Joachim, along with his sevenfold division of history, also understood history in three parts -- the Age of the Father, the Age of the Son, and the Age of the Spirit. Yet, as with his sevenfold division of history, Lampe's threefold system is entirely different from Joachim's. For a brief summary of Joachim's threefold scheme of history, see: Justo L. González, *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. 2 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1992), 190-192. Also see: West and Zimdars-Swartz, 41-77. In addition see: Majorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London: SPCK, 1976), 1-28.

¹⁰ Schrenk, 303-305. Also see chapter VI, footnote #118, on page 163 above.

¹¹ The Augustinian influence is on the basis that Augustine was one of the first to use creation as a model for history, and Lampe uses creation as the model as well. The Joachimite influence is that Lampe uses a sevenfold system that includes chiliastic hopes. And Lampe was Cocceian, in that he placed his entire historical system under the concept of covenant progression, and recieved all earlier influences through the Cocceian school.

understood Christ as the center point in history. Hence, everything before Christ has been absorbed into the event of his life, death and resurrection; and everything after him, points toward the consummation of his purposes. Therefore, in considering this, Lampe's dedication to the periodization of the New Testament Church must follow this thinking: since we live after Christ, and since everything before him is absorbed by him, or since the Old Testament community was established for the New Testament community, we only need to focus on the progression of the New Testament Church to understand the essential meaning of the whole of history.

For the purposes of this study, we do not need to expound on each period within Lampe's division of history. Rather, we simply need to identify them, so that we may better appreciate the "system of parallels" and Lampe's eschatology. Therefore, Lampe's division of the whole of history and his periodization of the New Testament Church are presented below:

Lampe's Periodization of the Whole of History

- (1) From Adam to Noah
- (2) From Noah to Moses
- (3) From Moses to Christ
- (4) From Christ to the Antichrist
- (5) From the origin of the Antichrist until the beginning of the Reformation
- (6) From the end of the Reformation to the final blessed time
- (7) From the final blessed time to the end of the world¹²

Lampe's Periodization of the New Testament Church

- (1) From Christ's ascension to the beginning of the Apostles¹³
- (2) From the beginning of the Apostles up to the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great¹⁴
- (3) From the first Christian emperor up to Emperor Phocas, under who erupted a wave of persecution; or up to the Roman bishop, Boniface III¹⁵

¹² *Geheimnis*, II, 166-172. Also see pages 221-222 above.

¹³ *Geheimnis*, V, 286-344.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 345-403.

¹⁵ *Geheimnis*, V, 404-473. Boniface III was pope from February 19 to November 12, 607. See: Mullins, P. J., "Boniface III," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967.

- (4) From the outbreak of anti-Christianity up to the first thrust of revival, which the Church received through the Waldensians¹⁶
- (5) From the first beginnings of the Reformation through the Waldensians up to its completion through the Treaty of Passau.¹⁷
- (6) From the Treaty of Passau to our present time¹⁸
- (7) The period still to come, and up to the end of the world.¹⁹

Under an earlier discussion we saw how the broader history of the Old and New Testament church coincided with the individual's progression in grace. Of course, the same parallel relationship is intended between the history of New Testament church and the individual as well. The "effectual call" corresponds to the beginning of the Church. Saving faith, which represents a solidification in one's belief, corresponds to solidification of belief for the Church during the time of the Apostles. The outbreak of persecution and the beginnings of revival corresponds to the beginnings of real transformation in the individual under regeneration. Justification and the beginnings of sanctification correspond to the Reformation, the great gift of God to the church, and the subsequent growth in the Church that led to the Treaty of Passau. Finally, the time from the Reformation to the seventh period, or the Millennium, corresponds to the latter stages of sanctification and sealing. Finally, the glorification of history, of course, represents a believer's glorification as well.

With Lampe's divisions of history presented, and our review of their relationship to the *Heilsordnung* complete, we now turn to examine how all of this finds its ultimate meaning -- through the glorification of history.

¹⁶ *Geheimnis*, V, 474-581. The Waldensians were founded by Peter Waldus (d. ca. 1218). For an excellent synopsis of this movement see: Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 5 (1907; reprint, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1994), 493-507.

¹⁷ *Geheimnis*, V, 582-715. In the Treaty of Passau in 1552, "recognition was given to the Lutheran faith as among the ecclesiastical institutions of the [Holy Roman] empire." The Treaty of Passau was the preamble to the Peace of Augsburg on September 25, 1555. See: "Augsburg, Religious Peace of," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1908. Also see chapter III, footnote #8, on page 45 above.

¹⁸ *Geheimnis*, V, 716-818. From Lampe's perspective, "present time" means the eighteenth century.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 819-877.

Lampe's Seventh Period of History

THE FOLLOWING IS A TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER THIRTEEN (PAGES 819-877) OF BOOK FIVE OF LAMPE'S *GEHEIMNIS*.²⁰

I. The four animals before the throne of God (See Revelation 4:6.)²¹ were covered with eyes, front and back. This is representative of the fact that the servants of God not only look back behind themselves to see the ways of God with his Church in the past in order to be strengthened in their faith; but that they also look to that which is in the future, or to what will yet happen, in order to be strengthened all the more in their hope. For this reason we cannot conclude with looking at God's dealings with the Church in the past²² without looking at the witness of the Word concerning the last days, and to take hold of the applicable prophecies that have yet to be fulfilled with the help of the Holy Spirit. There are still a great number of such prophecies, and they satisfactorily teach us that the end of the world, or the final future of our Savior, may still not be so soon before the door.²³ Even though we could speculate about that which must still be fulfilled from a careful attentiveness to the connection of those prophecies

²⁰ Lampe's full title to this chapter is: "Concerning The Happenings of the Church that are yet to come, particularly in the Seventh Period of the New Testament and up to The End of the World, as far as it can be understood from the Prophetic Word."

²¹ Revelation 4:6 states: "And in front of the throne there is something like a sea of glass, like crystal. Around the throne, and on each side of the throne, are four living creatures, full of eyes in front and behind...." (NRSV) All additional scripture references in this chapter will be taken from the NSRV as well.

²² In particular, what Lampe is speaking of here is the concluding of his discussion on the six periods of history in the New Testament Church. See the literature review in Part I of this paper.

²³ It becomes clear that this phrase (i.e., "may still not be so soon before the door"), when viewed in respect to the later tone of urgent expectancy mentioned in paragraphs XXVI and XXVII, means that the Savior and the "end of the world" will be crossing the threshold into future reality very soon. Thus, conversely then, the Savior will not be before the door, or threshold for much longer.

already fulfilled; the following data will show that there still remains much obscurity in regard to the type and order of fulfillment.²⁴

II. Consequently, to begin with, we have reason to fear that it will become increasingly bad with the Protestant Church because of her multiple sins. All of her external arms of flesh²⁵ will be like that described in Isaiah 59:16: "He saw that there was no one, and was appalled that there was no one to intervene...." Unfortunately we already see the beginnings of this in our present day. To be sure, there are those magistrates who call themselves Protestants, but have done little to further the cause of the oppressed Zion or to help holiness;²⁶ and these will, conceivably, still continue in the times to come. In fact, Moses already saw this in Deuteronomy 32:36-38: "He sees that their power is gone, neither bond nor free remaining. And he will say (or the conquering enemies of the Church will mockingly ask):"²⁷ Where is their God, the rock they trusted in? They (namely God and the Rock)²⁸ who ate the fat of their offering, who drank the wine of their oblations, let them rise up and protect you. In addition to this, Isaiah 33:7-9 states:

²⁴ The fact that Lampe is leaving room for obscurity, is a hint to his willingness to remain within the framework of tension. See the previous discussion on Lampe's theological framework, and the tension between "containment and development." Also he is "down-playing" speculation.

²⁵ As it will become clear in the following sentences, Lampe is speaking of civil authorities here. In calling civil authorities the Church's "external arms of flesh," Lampe is directly following Calvin's understanding of the role of civil government; for Calvin states: "Yet civil government has as its appointed end, so long as we live among men, to cherish and protect the outward worship of God, to defend sound doctrine of piety and the position of the Church, to adjust our life to the society of men, to form our social behavior to civil righteousness, to reconcile us with one another, and to promote general peace and tranquillity." *Institutes*, IV.20.2. Also see IV.20.3-4; McNeill's ed., 1487-1490.

²⁶ One should compare this complaint by Lampe with the earlier discussion concerning the post-Thirty Years' War "stalemate" in religious liberty. See page 47 above.

²⁷ Here Lampe is changing the context of Deut. 32:36 to support his thought. In Deut. 32:36 the Lord is speaking, and he asks: "Where are their gods, the rock in which they took refuge...?" Above, Lampe is reversing the context from the children of God being asked where their idols are, to the enemies of God, or idolaters, asking the children of God where their God is. In this writer's opinion, Lampe makes quite an exegetical stretch here.

²⁸ Note once again the severe shift in context. See footnote #27 above.

Listen! the valiant cry in the streets; the envoys of peace weep bitterly. The highways are deserted, travelers have quit the road. The treaty is broken, its oaths are despised, its obligation is disregarded. The land mourns and languishes; Lebanon is confounded and withers away; Sharon is like a desert; and Bashan and Carmel shake off their leaves.

Furthermore, Micah 5:7 states:

Then the remnant of Jacob, surrounded by many peoples, shall be like dew from the Lord, like showers on the grass, which do not depend upon people or wait for any mortal.

Accordingly, there comes the confidence of the Roman whore.²⁹ As Revelation 18:7 states: "In her heart she says, 'I rule as a queen; I am no widow and I will never see grief....'"

III. Then the hour of great tribulation will break in. This tribulation could not possibly be greater, and it will be called the saddest of any time since the beginning of the earth.

Moreover, as far as prophecy tells of the future, this tribulation is supposed to come in the sixth hour of the New Testament; it is supposed to be carried out by a terrible warring horde (which, probably will consist of wild and barbaric people who will gather from all the ends of the earth); it is to strike the true church as well as the false Church;³⁰ it is not to last long, but will last longer in some places than in others; it is to happen while God's people will be protected in a special way;

²⁹ Here Lampe is holding to the then contemporaneous understanding of the Papacy as being the great Prostitute and the Antichrist. For a brief look into the key aspects behind the development of this tradition, see Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London: SPCK, 1976), 136-165. Also see footnote #55 below.

³⁰ At first glance, one might think that the identification of the true and false Church relate to the Protestant and Catholic churches respectively. However, when considering this chapters dominating identification of the Catholic church as the Antichrist, it seems more likely that the terms "true" and "false" are being synonymously used for "inward" and "outward." In fact, the definitions that Lampe gives to the inward and outward church supports this suggestion. Lampe states that the inward church "consists of all those who are powerfully called," or truly called, and the outward church "consists of a mixed multitude that outwardly makes confession of Christ,... and gives and outward service to the Word." Then he goes on to say that those belonging to the inward Church are the elect, and that it is every persons obligation to "ascertain whether or not he may be a member of the true Church." (Taken from: O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 322.) Hence, in light of this, it is evident that Lampe used the terms "true" and "false" as meaning the same as "outward" and "inward." Furthermore, it should be pointed out that this "twofold ecclesiology is found throughout Pietist literature, although, in Lampe, it does not produce a call for the visible separation of the two churches, as in radical Pietism." (See Lampe's position on separatism on pages 112 ff. of this study. Also see discussion on the "inward" church on pages 259-260 above.) Interestingly, Calvin held to even a greater tension than Lampe between the inward and outward church. (O'Malley, *Wayfaring and Warfaring*, 337, note #78.) For Calvin's delineation of the inward and outward church, see: *Institutes*, Book 4.

and it is to end after a great battle. We support all of this with the following passages from John's Revelation:

Because you have kept my word of patient endurance, I will keep you from the hour of trial that is coming on the whole to test the inhabitants of the earth. (Rev. 3:10)

Now, with the sixth letter, there comes the sixth seal.³¹

When he opened the sixth seal, I looked, and there came a great earthquake; the sun became black as sackcloth, the full moon became like blood, and the stars of the sky fell to the earth as the fig tree drops its winter fruit when shaken by a gale. The sky vanished like a scroll rolling itself up, and every mountain and island was removed from its place. Then the kings of the earth and the magnates and the generals and the rich and the powerful, and everyone, slave and free, hid in the caves and among the rocks of the mountains, calling to the mountains and rocks, 'Fall on us and hide us from the face of the one seated on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of their wrath has come, and who is able to stand?' (Rev. 6:12-17)

Just exactly how gracious God's care shall be for his people in that terrible time is taught even more specifically by the Holy Spirit in Rev. 7:1-8. It reads:

After this I saw four angels standing at the four corners of the earth, holding back the four winds of the earth so that no wind could blow on earth or sea or against any tree. I saw another angel ascending from the rising of the sun, having the seal of the living god, and he called with a loud voice to the four angels who had been given power to damage earth and sea, saying, 'Do not damage the earth or the sea or the trees, until we have marked the servants of our God with a seal on their foreheads.' And I heard the number who were sealed, one hundred forty-four thousand [This is the apostolic number, by which the true Church, after she started leaving Babel by means of the Waldensians, is marked.] sealed out of every tribe of the people of Israel.³²

With the sixth seal there is the sixth trumpet. The latter is of an equal content, but through it the tools by which the great judgment is to be carried out are described in greater detail. As Rev. 9:13-19 states:

³¹ The above passage (Rev. 3:10) is in the sixth letter presented in the book of Revelation. Lampe is linking the sixth letter with the sixth seal in order to stress God's wonderful protection over his people.

³² Brackets by Lampe.

Then the sixth angel blew his trumpet, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar before God, saying to the sixth angel who had the trumpet, 'Release the four angels [I consider these as the same as those who were seen in the sixth seal.] who are bound at the great river Euphrates.' [A symbol of the Turkish Empire, which the barbarian nations have supported, so to speak, up to now.] So the four angels were released, who had been held ready for the hour, the day, the month, and the year [By this, it is possibly shown that their torment over those in one place of the earth should last longer, while their torment over those in another place should have a shorter duration.] to kill a third of human kind. The number of the troops of cavalry was two hundred million; I heard their number. And this was how I saw the horses in my vision: the riders wore breastplates the color of fire and sapphire and of sulfur; the heads of the horses were like lion's heads, and fire and smoke and sulfur came out of their mouths. By these three plagues a third of humankind was killed, by the fire and smoke and sulfur coming out of their mouths. For the power of the horses is in their mouths and in their tails; their tails are like serpents, having heads; and with them they inflict harm.³³

However, the fact that this judgment is to be distinguished from the one which will be carried out over the throne of the Antichrist, and that it must come before the latter, is clear from verses 20 and 21:

The rest of humankind, who were not killed by these plagues, did not repent of the works of their hands or give up worshipping demons and idols of gold and silver and bronze and stone and wood, which cannot see or hear or walk. And they did not repent of their murders or their sorceries or their fornication or their thefts.

After the gruesome and general destruction that these people will provoke, a bloody battle will be waged. This is taught by the parable of the harvest and the making of the wine, which are taken from Rev. 14:14-20 and Joel 3:13. Both of these parables have a malicious meaning. The harvest is easily understood to be the devastation itself, whereas the making of the wine (or the wine-pressing)³⁴ is understood as the battle. Through the latter parable we know that the continuation of the battle will be curbed. This is made evident in Rev. 14:20:

And the wine press was trodden outside the city, and blood flowed from the wine press, as high as a horse's bridle, for a distance of about two hundred miles.

³³ Brackets by Lampe.

³⁴ Parentheses mine.

Now since the kingdom of the Antichrist shall be especially weakened by this slaughter, its partisans shall take up arms in this main battle as well. Thus, the sixth bowl also deals with the same judgment. As Rev. 16:12-16 states:

The sixth angel poured his bowl on the great river Euphrates [at which the four angels of death were bound for a while before the blowing of the sixth trumpet] and its water was dried up [This, according to every probability, suggest that the fall of the Turks will be joined to the flow of blood.] in order to prepare the way for the kings from the east. [By this, shouldn't one be moved to think that God has determined specific nations from the far east for this great judgment?] And I saw three foul spirits like frogs coming from the mouth of the dragon, from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the false prophet. [This represents three missionaries of the Roman chair, who, in this ultimate peril, will seek to unite all of Rome's supporters to their defense.] These are demonic spirits, performing signs, who go abroad to the kings of the whole world, to assemble them for battle on the great day of God the Almighty. ('See, I am coming like a thief! Blessed is the one who stays awake and is clothed, not going about naked and exposed to shame.') And they assembled them at the place that in Hebrew is called Harmagedon. [This refers us to Zechariah 12:11,³⁵ and the same place is spoken of in Joel 3:12,³⁶ where it is called the Valley of Josaphat.]³⁷

In light of the above, a variety of earlier prophets and prophecies can be understood; especially those in relation to: Deut. 32:41; Is. 2:10-22, 26:20-21, 27:1, 32:9-14, 59:19; Ps. 110:6; Song of Sol. 8:6; Dan. 12:1; Mich. 5:11; Zech. 10:2; and Matt. 24:37,41.

IV. In the context of the pouring of the sixth bowl [angezogenen sechsten Schale], we have already suggested that the fall of the Turks will be joined to this devastation. This is substantiated through other prophets. In fact, the entire prophecy of Nahum is used by some to this effect. In addition, there is Isaiah 10:16-19, which states:

³⁵ Zechariah 12:11 states: "On that day the mourning in Jerusalem will be as great as the mourning for Hadadrimmon in the plain of Megiddo."

³⁶ Joel 3:12 states: "Let the nations rouse themselves, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat; for there I will sit to judge all the neighboring nations."

³⁷ Brackets by Lampe.

Therefore the Sovereign, the Lord of Hosts, will send wasting sickness among his stout warriors, and under his glory a burning will be kindled, like the burning of fire. The light of Israel will become a fire, and his Holy One a flame; and it will burn and devour his thorns and briers in one day. The glory of his forest and his fruitful land the Lord will destroy, both soul and body, and it will be as when an invalid wastes away. The remnant of the trees of his forest will be so few that a child can write them down.

Then there is Isaiah 31:8-9:

'Then Assyrian shall fall by a sword, not of mortals; and a sword, not of humans [but through a formerly more despised people],³⁸ shall devour him; he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall be put to forced labor. His rock shall pass away in terror, and his officers desert the standard in panic,' says the Lord, whose fire is in Zion, and whose furnace is in Jerusalem.

However, the judgment over the Turks will not only be for their destruction, but also for the preservation of many souls: for the deliverance of the Greek Church oppressed under their power, as well as for the conversion of the Turkish³⁹ remnant to the Christian faith. The salvation and cleansing of the Greek Church is promised under the image of Joseph in Zech. 10:6-10:

I will strengthen the House of Judah [the Protestant Church] and I will save the house of Joseph. I will bring them back because I have compassion on them, and they shall be as though I had not rejected them; for I am the Lord their God and I will answer them. Then the people of Ephraim shall become like warriors, and their hearts shall be glad as with wine.... I will bring them home from the land of Egypt, and gather them from Assyria; I will bring them to the land of Giliad and to Lebanon, until there is no room for them.⁴⁰

The Turkish remnant⁴¹ shall unite with the Greek Church,⁴² and then Assyria shall once again serve the Lord. See Isaiah 14:23 ff.; in addition, Micah 7:12-13 speaks of this. It states:

³⁸ Brackets by Lampe. This statement by Lampe is somewhat unclear, but it seems to be speaking about the members of the true church, or the true people of God.

³⁹ Lampe uses the pronoun "*ihrer*." If the pronoun is used the context is confused between the Turks and members of the Greek Church. However, in light of Lampe's opening sentence here (i.e., "the judgment of the Turks will not only be for their destruction, etc."), it seems most appropriate to replace "*ihrer*" with the adjective "Turkish."

⁴⁰ Brackets by Lampe.

⁴¹ Here Lampe only uses the word "Turks." However, in the context of the judgment that Lampe is describing in this paragraph, he can not be understanding the Turks as a whole. Thus, this line strengthens the case for the argument presented in the preceding footnote, and therefore, the adjective "Turkish" has been added here as well.

⁴² Here Lampe uses the pronoun "*ihnen*."

In that day they will come to you from Assyria to Egypt, and from Egypt to the River, from sea to sea and from mountain to mountain. But the earth will be desolate because of its inhabitants, for the fruit of their doings.

V. The people of God will be delivered in a glorious manner and will finally arrive at a secure and peaceful condition. Moreover, from that time onwards the kingdom of the Antichrist will be greatly weakened, and will eventually fall, whereby the sixth period of history⁴³ will come to an end. For this reason Joel 3:15-17 says:

The sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars withdraw their shining. The Lord roars from Zion, and utters his voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shake. But the Lord is a refuge for his people, a stronghold for the people of Israel. So you shall know that I, the Lord your God, dwell in Zion, my holy mountain.

And Micah 7:9-10 states:

I must bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he takes my side and executes judgment for me. He will bring me out to the light; I shall see his vindication. Then my enemy will see, and shame will cover her who said to me, 'Where is the Lord your God?' My eyes will see her downfall; now she will be trodden down like the mire of the streets. (Also see Is. 27:2-9 and 33:19-22.)

The accepted depiction of the period of the Church which follows after this "vindication,"⁴⁴ is given in Rev. 7:9-17, which reads:

After this I looked, and there was a great multitude that no one could count, from every nation, from all tribes and peoples and languages [One cannot take this crowd to be a picture of the final conversion of the heathen; partly because the seventh seal is not yet opened and partly because they are described in the following as witnesses to truth who have come out of the great tribulation.], standing before the throne and before the Lamb, robed in white, with palm branches in their hands. They cried out in a loud voice, saying, 'Salvation belongs to our God who is seated on the throne, and to the Lamb!' And all the angels stood around the throne and around the elders and the four living creatures, and

⁴³ Lampe uses the term "*Zeitlauf*" here.

⁴⁴ The term "vindication" has been added here to provide a stronger connection with the preceding passage.

they fell on their faces before the throne and worshipped God, saying, 'Amen! Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might be to our God forever and ever! Amen.' Then one of the elders addressed me, saying, 'Who are these, robed in white, and where have they come from?' I said to him, 'Sir, you are the one that knows.' Then he said to me, 'These are they who have come out of the great ordeal; they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. For this reason they are before the throne of God, and worship him day and night within his temple, and the one who is seated on the throne will shelter them. They will hunger no more, and thirst no more; the sun will not strike them, nor any scorching heat; for the Lamb at the center of the throne will be their shepherd, and he will guide them to springs of the water of life, and God will wipe away every tear from their eyes.'⁴⁵

To this can also be added the promises that Is. 58:10 ff. conveys to the Protestant Church.

However, according to chapter 59, their fulfillment is hindered by sin. For this reason Is. 58:10 ff. says:

Then your light shall rise in the darkness and your gloom be like the noonday. The Lord will guide you continually, and satisfy your needs in parched places, and make your bones strong; and you shall be like a watered garden, like a spring of water, whose waters never fail. Your ancient ruins shall be rebuilt; you shall raise up the foundations of many generations; you shall be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of streets to live in.(etc.).

With all this, there comes the encouragement and the promise which is given to the church at Philadelphia in Rev. 3:11-12.⁴⁶ (Also see Ps. 107:42, 126:5-6; and Micah 7:11,14.)

VI. Although this promise (i.e., such as that represented in Rev. 7: 9-17)⁴⁷ shows that God's people will no longer have to expect severe persecution after the hour of tribulation, it still appears, however, that the sweet rest which the Church has yet to expect at the end of the sixth seal, will give way to a new decline into great complacency and false security, after which the

⁴⁵ Brackets by Lampe.

⁴⁶ Revelation 3:11-12 states: "I am coming soon; hold fast to what you have, so that no one may seize your crown. If you conquer, I will make a pillar in the temple of my God; you will never go out of it. I will write on you the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem that comes down from my God out of heaven, and my own new name."

⁴⁷ This parenthetical statement has been added here to provide for better contextual clarity.

seventh period of the Church will begin. This is described in the angel's letter to the church in Laodicea, as found in Rev. 3:14-17:

And the angel of the church in Laodicea write: The words of the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the origin of God's creation: I know your works; you are neither cold nor hot. I wish that you were either cold or hot. So because you are lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I am about to spit you out of my mouth. For you say, 'I am rich, I have prospered, and I need nothing.' You do not realize that you are wretched, pitiable, poor, blind, and naked.

The designation (i.e., "neither hot nor cold")⁴⁸ connected with Laodicea, which is a ruling against the people, certainly does not pertain to the present-day Church, but to such a one that has begun to tread more upon the earth's high places.⁴⁹ Moreover, the Church's brief decline after the hour of tribulation must be established if one does not want to turn around the entire order of prophecy. To be sure, the "spitting out of the mouth" signifies a severe judgment through which the Church will once more appear to be abandoned by God for a short period of time; but this period is not characterized by a complete abandonment or repudiation by God, but rather it seems to be tied to the Church's purification. This becomes evident from the compassionate advice that follows directly in vs. 18:

Therefore I counsel you to buy from me gold refined by fire so that you may be rich; and white robes to clothe you and to keep the shame of your nakedness from being seen; and salve to anoint your eyes so that you may see.

Indeed, the testimony of vs. 19 shows it even more clearly:

I reprove and discipline those whom I love. [Now, since the Lord loves Laodicea and seeks its amelioration, he adds the following to this:] Be earnest, therefore, and repent.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ This parenthetical statement has been added here to provide for better contextual clarity.

⁴⁹ There is an idiom in use here. The phrase, "that has begun to tread upon the earth's high places," seems to speak to the idea of a Church which has attained a higher spirituality, or has developed further along in its divine purpose. This understanding seems to fit the context of the paragraph as well as the overall developmental motif of Lampe's theological system.

⁵⁰ Brackets by Lampe.

In the same way, God is willing to make his presence known to those who will allow themselves to be awakened from their sleep.⁵¹ As vs. 20 states:

Listen! I am standing at the door, knocking; if you hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to you and eat with you, and you with me.

In addition to all this, the church in Laodicea can rightly be compared to the parable of the ten virgins (see Matt. 25:1-13), which, in respect to its context, is a symbol of the Protestant church as it will be found in the glorious future of Christ, immediately before the wedding of the Lamb to his new spiritual bride, who will be gathered from Jews and heathens alike.⁵² (Moreover, at the same time as the wedding, the postponed judgment over the Antichrist will be carried out. A summarizing description of this concluded Matthew's previous chapter, and Matt. 25:14 ff. describes this in greater detail.) In this parable, the Protestant church comes to us under the image of the ten virgins, of whom five were wise, and five were foolish. (This symbolism also points to the five cities that will begin to speak the language of Canaan, and who will each give up a wise and foolish virgin.)⁵³ The foolish virgins come forth with their lamps and wait on the bridegroom, but there are only five of them out of the ten. This signifies a time that is going to be more glorious than the present, because the number of the true followers will be the same as the false followers, who themselves emit a great light, and who also await the coming of Christ.

⁵¹ It is interesting to see Lampe's practical pastoral concern here. Lampe, steps out of his discussion on the future, to remind his readers that the Lord is not only loving enough to awake and discipline the future church in a moment of weakness, but he is willing and wanting to care and strengthen persons in the present.

⁵² Lampe develops the salvation of the Jews and the heathen in paragraphs XIII-XVI. There is obvious tension here in Lampe's writings. As it will be seen later, he sometimes presents a form of universalism. Here again we have a hint to the tension that Lampe held between the process of humanity within salvation, and the set establishment of divine election. See pages 224-225 of this paper. Also see *Geheimnis*, I, 85 ff.

⁵³ Here Lampe is connecting Is. 19:18 (which states: "On that day there will be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan and swear allegiance to the Lord of hosts.") with Matt. 25:1-13. Lampe is viewing both of these images as the Protestant church. Thus, if five of the virgins are wise and five are not, then each city will have one wise and one foolish virgin as well. In either case half of the Protestant church will be true, and half will be false. Interestingly, Lampe sees the reaching of this ratio as a glorious time in the future of the Church. Thus, there is no doubt that he must have understood the church of his day as belonging to mostly false believers. One should hold this thought in light of the historical context developed earlier in this paper, particularly the in light of the events in Germany. See Part II, pages 45-65.

Hence, the actual identification given to Laodicea consist of what is written in Matt. 25:5: "As the bridegroom was delayed, all of them became drowsy and slept." Then there followed a great shout and the cutting off of the foolish virgins. This paints a picture of the future judgment through which right-minded souls will be awakened but the hypocrites will be cut off.

VII. So then, the total nullification of the Antichrist will follow the aforementioned decline among God's people.⁵⁴ However, not all at once, but rather bit by bit. Throughout the tribulation of the sixth trumpet and the sixth bowl, his strength will be greatly weakened; but it will not be wholly done away with -- for the 1,260 days of the Pope extend beyond the 1,150 days of the Turkish kingdom.⁵⁵ Of course, in Daniel both these times are lengthened:

⁵⁴ This sentence has been modified to help with contextual transition. It literally reads: "So then, the total nullification of the Antichrist will follow."

⁵⁵ The two periods of time mentioned here correspond primarily to two passages in Daniel. The first period of 1,260 days is taken from Daniel 7:25; which is speaking of the fourth beast in Daniel's vision. It reads: "He shall speak words against the Most High, shall wear out the holy ones of the Most High, and shall attempt to change the sacred seasons and the law; and they shall be given into his power for a time, two times, and half a time." (This passage is also quoted later in paragraph XX of this chapter.) Many scholars have often understood the charge that the fourth beast "shall attempt to change the sacred seasons" as meaning that it will attempt to change the Jewish solar calendar of 364 days to a lunar one of 360 days. [See: John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, ed. David A. Hubbard and Glenn W. Barker, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 30 (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 180.] In any event, even more scholars have understood the phrase "for a time, two times, and half a time," to mean a period of three and a half years -- for a time" means one year; "two times" means two years; and a "half a time" equals half a year. (Goldingay, 181.) If based on a 364-day system, the end result would be a period of 1,274 days, but if based on a 360-day lunar system, the end result would be 1,260 days. Lampe clearly understands the verse in light of the latter system, but his exegetical reasons for this are not given here. Furthermore, Lampe understands the days as representing years, and this is obvious for two reasons. First, in the next sentence he speaks of the "forgottenness of Tyre," which is measured in years, as fitting between the periods mentioned in Daniel 12:11-12, which are measured in days. Second, in paragraph XX of this chapter he literally equates the 1,260 day figure as a yearly measure (See point #4 under paragraph XX.). In addition to this reference, he also equates it in a footnote at the beginning of his tenth chapter in book five of his *Geheimnis*. (This chapter deals with the fourth period of history in the New Testament Church.) Moreover, in this same note, Lampe also provides many other scriptures for deriving the 1,260 day figure. He states: "The entire time of the kingdom of the Antichrist will be limited to 1,260 prophetic days, or years (See Rev. 12:6 and 11:3.).... Since 1,260 days constitutes three and a half years, this same period of time is divided into a "a time, two times and a half time" in Rev. 12:14 and in Dan. 7:25.... Furthermore, Rev. 11:2 and 13:5 speak of forty two months, and this comes out to be 1,260 days as well." (*Geheimnis*, V, 474) This latter configuration attests that Lampe was figuring from a lunar calendar; for a year consisting of 12 even months of thirty days each, equals 360 days (a lunar year), and forty two months equals 1,260 days. Again, Lampe does not make all of the details in arriving to these interpretations clear, but it seems that he is following the interpretive trend of his time.

During Lampe's day, due to a resurgence in the acceptance of various aspects of Joachim of Fiore's (1132-1202) system of history, sources Germany and England subscribed to much of the interpretive patterns associated with Joachite eschatology. [For a thorough discussion on the Joachite influences in England and Germany during

the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see: Marjorie Reeves, Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future, 136-175. In addition, for the influence of Joachim on the Cocceian school of thought, see: Jürgen Moltman, "*Jacob Bröcard als Vorläufer der Reich-Gottes-Theologie und der symbolisch-prophetischen Schriftauslegung des Johann Coccejus*," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 71 (1960): 110-129.] For Joachim the biblical use of the term "day" meant "time," and "time" meant an undetermined amount of time. (West and Zimdars-Swartz, 31.) Yet, with this Joachim delineation, there was another long tradition communicated up to, and through, the middle ages. This tradition was to see "day" as meaning "year." Edward Bishop Elliot points this out in his commentary on the Apocalypse, *Horae Apocalypticae* (1862). He writes: "From Cyprian's time, near the middle of the third century, even to the time of Joachim and the Waldensians in the twelfth century, there was kept up by a succession of expositors in the Church a recognition of the precise year-day principle of interpretation, and its application made, not without consideration and argument, to one and another of the chronological prophetic periods of days...." [Taken from an English citation made in: Alfred-Félix Vaucher, "*Les 1260 Jours Prophétiques Dans Les Cercles Joachimites*," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 3, no. 1 (1965): 44. Interestingly, however, Vaucher claims that Joachim was the first who gave the 1,260 days the value of 1,260 years. (Vaucher, 44. This article was translated for the author by Dr. David Bauer at Asbury Theological Seminary, on 6/16/95.) However, this goes against West and Zimdars-Swartz. For as stated above, the latter claimed that Joachim did not understand "day" as strictly meaning a "year" but that it corresponded to an undetermined amount of time, which could mean month, year, era, etc..] Now, if one considers all of the above, or, in short, considers: (1) the seasonal language in Daniel 7:25; (2) the mathematical reality of the lunar calendar with the in vogue Joachite influences; and (3) the Joachite influence with the tradition of understanding "day" as meaning "year;" then one can clearly find a reasoning to why Lampe understood Daniel 7:25 as speaking about a 1,260 year period.

The figure of 1,150 days is based on Daniel 8:14, which comes after an angelic Being asked how long the event described in the preceding verses would last. It reads: "And he answered him, 'For two thousand three hundred evenings and mornings; then the sanctuary shall be restored to its rightful state.'" John E. Goldingay states in his Commentary on Daniel that "the 2,300 evenings and mornings is usually taken to denote 2,300 occasions when an evening or a morning whole offering was not sacrificed -- that is 1,150 days." Lampe holds to this explication, and here too ascribes to the "year-day" form of interpretation.

Lampe is holding to his contemporary Protestant view when he claims Daniel chapter 7, and the fourth beast as pertaining to the Roman Catholic Church; and when he claims Daniel chapter 8 as describing the Turkish Empire. Though it is unclear to this author on how these entities became critically woven into the hermeneutic of Daniel, it is obvious that they were, and that such interpretations came through long and exhaustive traditions. The first tradition (i.e., seeing the Roman Catholic Church as the Antichrist) began with the radical reformers of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the radical assertions made by these reformers, such as the German Mathius Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575) and the Englishman John Foxe (1516-1587), found support in claims made by Joachim of Fiore. Primarily, for example, Joachim's pronouncement of the Antichrist as being born in Rome was expounded into a full-fledged anti-Papal doctrine. (Reeves, 136-137.) Therefore, when one combines approximately two hundred years of such a heritage, and a resurgence of Joachimism to Lampe's era, there can be no doubt to why such thinking was the interpretive norm. (For a complete discussion on the connection between Joachimism and the early Protestant anti-papal motif, see: Reeves, 136-165.)

As in the preceding discussion, when connecting Daniel chapter 8 with the Turkish Empire, Lampe holds to the seventeenth century Protestant tradition and does not give any exegetical reasoning for his interpretation. One may safely assume, however, that Lampe tied together the geographic information provided in verse 2 (This verse places the "location" of the content of the vision north of the Persian Gulf, near modern day Khuztistan, which would have been well within the Turkish Empire of Lampe's day. See: Goldingay, 208.) with the post-Crusades' pitiable tradition of seeing the Moslems as the "ministers of the Antichrist." [This title is taken from: Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 76.]

Finally, one last thing must be noted here. Lampe understood the "kingdom of the Antichrist" as beginning under the Roman Emperor Phocas and the Roman Catholic Bishop Boniface III. Furthermore, he places a starting date of 602 A.D. on this "kingdom." (*Geheimnis*, V, 475, see column reference.) In fact, Lampe directly states that the 1,260 prophetic days, or years, must be calculated from this starting point. [He states: "from this we judge that they (the 1,260 days) must be calculated from the beginning of this period of time. Parentheses mine. See: *Geheimnis*, V, 474, footnote "h".] However, Lampe does not put this statement in the body of his text, which

From the time that the regular burnt offering is taken away and the abomination that desolates is set up, there shall be one thousand two hundred ninety days. Happy are those who persevere and attain the thousand three hundred thirty-five days. (Dan. 12:11-12)

Without a doubt, the seventy years of the "forgottenness" of Tyre will occur between these times.⁵⁶ This is written about in Is. 23:15-17:

From that day Tyre will be forgotten for seventy years, the lifetime of one king. At the end of seventy years, it will happen to Tyre as in the song about the prostitute: Take a harp, go about the city, you forgotten prostitute! Make sweet melody, sing many songs, that you may be remembered.

However, the "harp-music" will not last long, for soon verses 17 and 18 are added to it:⁵⁷

At the end of seventy years, the Lord will visit Tyre, and she will return to her trade, and will prostitute herself with all the kingdoms of the world on the face of the earth. Her merchandise and her wages will be dedicated to the Lord; her profits will not be stored up or hoarded, but her merchandise will supply abundant food and fine clothing for those who live in the presence of the Lord.

shows his caution in establishing predictions. (This same caution was also hinted to earlier in the first paragraph of this chapter. See footnote #24 above.) But, even though this is the case, there is no doubt that Lampe held to three facts: (1) that the "kingdom of the Antichrist began in 602 A.D., (2) that it was to last 1,260 days, or years, and (3) that after the 1,260 years, the seventh era of the Church's history would begin. Now, though Lampe says the things in Revelation should be understood allegorically, or spiritually, (See footnote #59 below.) he obviously argues that such allegory is in favor of a physical millennium, and, as already shown, to a physical interpretation of a yearly duration to the "kingdom of the Antichrist." Thus, though Lampe did not boldly make it known, he certainly understood the beginning of the Millennium as taking place in 1862 (602 + 1,260). Furthermore, he understood the Turkish Empire as beginning approximately around the same time. (See *Geheimnis*, V, 474-475) Thus, he must have thought that the Turkish Empire would fall on or around 1752 (602 + 1150). In light of this, there is no doubt to why he puts such a sense of urgency in the last two paragraphs of this chapter. To see the difference between Lampe's and Bengel's eschatological formulations (The latter is well known for his biblical exegesis, and his prediction of the Millennium based on the same passages of scripture in question here. However, Bengel thought the thousand year era would begin in 1836.), one should compare this note with: Magnus Frederic Roos, *An Exposition of the Prophecies of Daniel*, trans. Ebenezer Henderson (Edinburgh: J. and J. Robertson, 1811), 279-328. (These pages mostly represent primary source material from Bengel.)

⁵⁶ Again Lampe is considering the daily figures mentioned above as yearly figures. In addition he must be considering the 1,260 figure as the starting number, and the 1,335 figure as the concluding number; for the difference between these two is 75; hence, this allows for the seventy year period of the "forgottenness" of Tyre to take place. Lampe is speaking of Tyre as the evil servant of Israel, or the papacy. See footnote #70 below.

⁵⁷ In the German, this statement is as follows: "*Es wird aber dis Saitenspiel nicht lange dauren, da alsbald hinzu wird gethan, vs. 18:*" (See *Geheimnis* V, 838.) Lampe presents verses 15 through 17 in the citation preceding this statement. However, for a smoother transition between verses in English, this writer has included verse 17 with the following passage.

Meanwhile the time of God's renewed patience will cause the evil servant to fall into a false sense of security, so that he will say in his heart: "My Lord will not come for a long time." Then he will start once again to beat his fellow servants, and eating and drinking with the drunkards (Matt. 24:48-49). Then the Lord's judgment will no longer be far off and he will come suddenly, just as Matthew 24:50+51 states:

The master of that slave will come on a day when he does not expect him and at an hour that he does not know. He will cut him in pieces and put him with the hypocrites, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

VIII. However, this judgment is described in more detail; for the greater part of John's Revelation from chapter ten to chapter nineteen is designated for this. Almost nothing else is described in these chapters except the plagues and Babel's sins.⁵⁸ The sins are described in chapters eleven through fourteen, and the punishments in chapters fifteen through nineteen. The introduction to this portion of John's Revelation is chapter ten, and it describes the preparation which will happen by means of a glorious revelation of the Lord Jesus, which, however, like all things pertinent here, is not literally given, but which will occur spiritually.⁵⁹ The description goes like this:

⁵⁸ Babel and Babylon are other references to the Papacy.

⁵⁹ Here Lampe seems to be reminiscent of Origen. Philip Schaff reminds us of Origen's understanding of the interpretation of scripture when he writes: "Origen was the first to lay down, in connection with the allegorical method of the Jewish Platonist, Philo, a formal theory of interpretation.... He [Origen] considered the Bible a living organism, consisting of three elements which answer to the body, soul, and spirit of man.... Accordingly, he attributed to the scriptures a threefold sense; (1) a somatic, literal, or historical sense, furnished immediately by the meaning of the words, but only serving as a veil for a higher idea; (2) a psychic or moral sense, animating the first, and serving for general edification; (3) a [spiritual] or mystic and ideal sense, for those who stand on the high ground of philosophical knowledge." [Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, vol. 2 (1910; reprint, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1994), 521. Brackets mine.] Above Lampe seems to be suggesting Origen's third manner of interpretation when he says that the "pertinent things" in the book of Revelation "will occur spiritually." This is primarily synonymous with saying that the "pertinent things" should be understood allegorically. Though Lampe characteristically follows Origen in the use of allegory, he does not rest such a use and its subsequent interpretation in some philosophical knowledge, as implied by Schaff as being the case for Origen. Rather, he finds the use and understanding of allegory (or the prophetic-symbolic method, when in the context of eschatology), as being grounded in the five aspects of the Cocceian view of interpretation. (See Part II of this paper, pages 77-79.) This assumption is based on the following parallels: The first aspect in the Cocceian view of interpretation is that Scripture is revealed and interpreted through the Holy Spirit. Lampe says that the Holy Spirit is the mediator of the atoning work of Christ (See chapter VI, footnote #46, on page 137 above.); that the atoning

And I saw another mighty angel [This vision occurs after the blowing of the trumpet by the sixth angel, who must be distinguished from the angel mentioned here.] coming down from heaven, wrapped in a cloud, with a rainbow over his head [as a sign of the covenant after the flood, and of the hour of wrath]⁶⁰; his face was like the sun, and his legs like pillars of fire. He held a little scroll⁶¹ open in his hand. [This must be differentiated from the scroll of the seven seals, for that scroll includes the entire change of the Church as a whole. This scroll, however, particularly includes the sins and punishments of the Kingdom of the Antichrist.] Setting his right foot on the sea and his left foot on the land [This symbolizes how his authority held sway over the Church as well as over her enemies; and here he is

work of Christ is also the covenant of grace (See chapter VI, footnote #44, on page 137 above.), and any scriptural teaching that is for instruction and edification comes through the covenant of grace (See *Geheimnis*, I, 18.). Hence, any scriptural instruction comes through or from the Holy Spirit; and this is equal to the first Cocceian aspect. The second and fifth aspect of the Cocceian view of interpretation is that Scripture is to be viewed as an organic whole and that it must be centered around Christ. Lampe clearly holds to these aspects when he says: "In observing the content of the teaching on grace in the gospels, first the teachings of Christ must be taken into account. The same encompasses the whole teaching of God in and of itself." (*Geheimnis*, VI, 987.) Finally, the third and fourth aspect of the Cocceian view of interpretation is that Scripture should be studied for meaning and not for the confirmation of doctrines, and that it has a divine unity and a human diversity. In regard to these aspects, Lampe clearly shows that Scripture should be studied for meaning when he writes: "Finally, one has a groaning heart when considering each of these truths, that they as such, might effectively reveal themselves in the soul, in order to instruct the soul by their nature and power, and consequently, through the experience, which is the most definite teacher." (*Geheimnis*, I, 24.) Likewise, Lampe clearly indicates the divine unity and human diversity of Scripture when he writes: "God allowed a great number of prophecies and forshadowings to go before... [yet] the agreement between the prophets and the apostles concerning the person of the Savior is so wonderful, so exact and consistent, that in human things, no stronger foundation for faith could have been asked for." (*Geheimnis*, II, 134-135.) Hence, with all this said, it is clear that Lampe held to the five Cocceian aspects of interpretation mentioned earlier in this paper. Moreover, because this Cocceian connection has now been fully displayed, and in light of all the data given throughout this paper on Lampe's practical orientation; it becomes evident that his theology certainly followed Cocceius in being primarily independent of philosophical speculation. (See Part II, pages 76-77 above.) In conclusion, though Lampe claims that there are scriptures, as in the book of Revelation, which need to be understood allegorically or spiritually; he did not formulate grand philosophical allegorical relationships as sometimes evident in Origen. Rather Lampe's allegories were strictly formulated as a link between prophecy and Christ, and Christ and his kingdom; and this was done while staying within the boundaries of the aforementioned Cocceian aspects of interpretation. For Origen's threefold method of interpretation, see: Origen, *De Principiis*, trans. Frederick Crombie, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 4 (1885; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), bk. 4, chap. 1, para. 11-16.

Finally, one should keep in mind, that Lampe's statement here (i.e., "like all things pertinent here, is not literally given, but which will occur spiritually") does not mean that the book of Revelation does not speak of physical realities, it simply means that it does not describe such physical realities in a literal language. Hence, in this sense, that which is written will occur spiritually, or allegorically. This understanding becomes obvious as this chapter continues, for Lampe later argues for a physical millennium, among other things.

⁶⁰ In the German, this bracketed statement is as follows: "zum Bundeszeichen nach der Sündfluth der Versuchungs-Stunde." See *Geheimnis*, V, 839.

⁶¹ The New Revised Standard Version of the Bible gives the description of a scroll here. Lampe gives the description of a small book. *Geheimnis*, V, 839.

showing this in full force.],⁶² he gave a great shout, like a lion roaring. And when he shouted, the seven thunders sounded. And when the seven thunders had sounded, I was about to write, but I heard a voice from heaven saying, "Seal up what the seven thunders have said, and do not write it down." [What the seven thunders mean, the final fulfillment will have to reveal.] Then the angel whom I saw standing on the sea and the land raised his right hand to heaven and swore by him who lives forever and ever, who created heaven and what is in it, the earth and what is in it, and the sea and what is in it: "There will be no more delay, but in the days when the seventh angel is to blow his trumpet, the mystery of God will be fulfilled, as he announced to his servants the prophets." [These words clearly indicate that the last days of the Church are about to begin.]⁶³

Following these verses is John's eating of the small scroll, which was sweet in his mouth but bitter in his stomach. This action represents the dedication needed by those who pay attention to the signs of the times in order to understand these prophecies. The sweetness represents the sweet comfort that such understanding will impart to them, and the bitterness represents the persecutions that such witnesses of the truth will face in the making known of the contents of these prophecies. Other prophecies that have to do with a special revelation and the future arrival of Christ at this most remarkable judgment, and which must be interpreted spiritually, can certainly be compared with the above. For example II Thess. 2:8:

And then the lawless one will be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will destroy with the breath of his mouth, annihilating him by the manifestation of his coming.

And Matt. 24:30:

Then the sign of the Son of Man will appear in heaven, and then all the tribes of the earth will mourn, and they will see 'the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven' with power and great glory.

IX. As far as the judgment itself is concerned, it will see the coming together of all kinds of plagues which will permeate that time. The beginning of this can be found in the description of the seventh bowl in Rev. 16:17-21:

⁶² In the German, this parenthetical statement is as follows: "*Als dessen Regiment so wol über die Kirche als über ihre Feinde sich ausbreitete, und nun in Kraft sich zu zeigen anhub.*" *Geheimnis*, V, 840.

⁶³ Brackets by Lampe.

The seventh angel poured his bowl into the air, and a loud voice came out of the temple, from the throne, saying, "It is done!" And there came flashes of lightning, rumblings, peals of thunder, and a violent earthquake, such as had not occurred since people were upon the earth, so violent was that earthquake. The great city was split into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell. God remembered great Babylon and gave her the wine-cup of the fury of his wrath. And every island fled away, and no mountains were to be found; and huge hailstones, each weighing about a hundred pounds, dropped from heaven on people, until they cursed God for the plague of the hail, so fearful was that plague.

The Lord knows how all this will be fulfilled. Yet it does not seem to be a bad guess to say that the three parts of the great city, which represents the Kingdom of the Antichrist, represent three parts into which that kingdom will be torn. One part will continue to be glued to the Roman chair; the other will follow those obedient to the same, and will keep its mistakes; and the third will side with the true church. (With this, there is a close approximation of what is found in Zech. 13:8-9.⁶⁴) We can conclude that the first parts (i.e., the Roman chair and its followers)⁶⁵ will be weakened on the basis of the islands and mountains taking flight. The islands represent the republics, and the mountains represent the kingdoms which have hung onto the Pope up to now.

X. Upon this will follow the total destruction of the city of Rome, at which point those same powers, which otherwise would have still held allegiance to her, will be united with the Protestant powers. And they will burn Rome with fire, according to Rev. 17:16-17:

And the ten horns that you saw, they and the beast will hate the whore; they will make her desolate and naked; they will devour her flesh and burn her up with fire. For God has put it into their hearts to carry out his purpose by agreeing to give their kingdom to the beast, until the words of God will be fulfilled.

This is repeated in Rev. 18:8 and Ezek. 28:18-19:⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Zechariah 13:8-9 states: "In the whole land, says the Lord, two-thirds shall be cut off and perish, and one-third shall be left alive. And I will put this third into the fire, refine them as one refines silver, and test them as gold is tested. They will call on my name, and I will answer them. I will say, 'They are my people'; and they will say, 'The Lord is our God.'"

⁶⁵ This is an addition to the text.

⁶⁶ This verse is noted twice within this discussion. See footnote # 67 below.

So I brought out fire from within you; it consumed you, and I turned you to ashes on the earth in the sight of all who saw you. All who know you among the peoples are appalled at you; you have come to a dreadful end and shall be no more forever.

After this destruction, Rome will never be rebuilt, nor come to any power. This is why Rev. 18 21-23 says:

Then a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone and threw it into the sea, saying, "With such violence Babylon the great city will be thrown down, and will be found no more; and the sound of harpists and minstrels and of flutists and trumpeters will be heard in you no more; and an artisan of any trade will be found in you no more; and the sound of the millstone will be heard in you no more; and the light of a lamp will shine in you no more; and the voice of bridegroom and bride will be heard in you no more...."

Compare this with Is. 34:9-14:

And the streams of Edom shall be turned into pitch, and her soil into sulfur; her land shall become burning pitch. Night and day it shall not be quenched; its smoke shall go up forever. From generation to generation it shall lie waste; no one shall pass through it forever and ever. But the hawk and the hedgehog shall possess it; the owl and the raven shall live in it. He shall stretch the line of confusion over it, and the plummet of chaos over its nobles. They shall name it No Kingdom There, and all its princes shall be nothing. Thorns shall grow over its strongholds, nettles and thistles in its fortresses. It shall be the haunt of jackals, an abode for ostriches. Wildcats shall meet with hyenas, goat-demons shall call to each other; there too Lilith shall repose, and find a place to rest....(Also see Ezek. 28:19.)⁶⁷

XI. The consequences, or fruits, of this judgment are various. For on the one hand the members of the true church will be moved through it to praise and rejoice in the righteousness and truth of God. As Duet. 32:43 states:

Praise, O heavens, his people, worship him, all you gods! For he will avenge the blood of his children, and take vengeance on his adversaries; he will repay those who hate him, and cleanse the land for his people.

And as Is. 25:1-2 states:

⁶⁷ Ezekiel 28:19 states: "All who know you among the peoples are appalled at you; you have come to a dreadful end and shall be no more forever."

O Lord, you are my God; I will exalt you, I will praise your name; for you have done wonderful things, plans formed of old, faithful and sure. For you have made the city a heap, the fortified city a ruin; the palace of aliens is a city no more, it will never be rebuilt.

Furthermore, Rev. 15:2-4 states:

And I saw what appeared to be a sea of glass mixed with fire, and those who had conquered the beast and its image and the number of its name, standing beside the sea of glass with harps of God in their hands. And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb: "Great and amazing are your deeds, Lord God the Almighty! Just and true are your ways King of the nations! Lord, who will not fear and glorify your name? for you alone are holy. All nations will come and worship before you, for your judgments have been revealed."⁶⁸

XII. All the greater, however, will be the crying and mourning of those faithful to the papacy. A great number of these adherents will not be awakened by the judgment, but will become even more hardened. As Is. 65:13-14 states:

Therefore thus says the Lord God: My servants shall eat, but you shall be hungry; my servants shall drink, but you shall be thirsty; my servants shall rejoice, but you shall be put to shame; my servants shall sing for gladness of heart, but you shall cry out for pain of heart, and shall wail for anguish of spirit.

The kings, who have united themselves to the papacy by their "weeding out",⁶⁹ will also bear sorrow over the horrible destruction. As Rev. 18:9 states:

And the Kings of the earth, who committed fornication and lived in luxury with her, will weep and wail over her when they see the smoke of her burning....

Ezek. 27:35 also states:

⁶⁸ After presenting this passage, Lampe gives one other passage to support the fact that the "fruit" of praise is produced among the members of the true church by God's judgment upon the Antichrist and the world. This additional text is Rev. 19:1-3: "After this I heard what seemed to be the loud voice of a great multitude in heaven, saying, 'Hallelujah! Salvation and glory and power to our God, for his judgments are true and just; he has judged the great whore who corrupted the earth with her fornication, and he has avenged on her the blood of his servants.' Once more they said, 'Hallelujah! The smoke goes up from her forever and ever.'"

⁶⁹ The phrase "weeding out" [*Ausrottung*] seems to relate to the ecclesiastical selection of the provincial sovereigns. See the discussion on the principle of *cuius regio -- eius religio* and "royal prejudice" in Part II of this paper, on pages 47-48.

All the inhabitants of the coastlands are appalled at you; and their kings are horribly afraid, their faces are convulsed.

Mostly, however, the popish clerics, who are the merchants and seamen of the spiritual Tyre,⁷⁰ will be filled with woes. As Rev. 18.11-19 states:

And the merchants of the earth weep and mourn for her, since no one buys their cargo anymore, cargo of gold, silver, jewels and pearls, fine linen, purple, silk and scarlet, all kinds of scented wood, all articles of ivory, iron, and marble, [etc.]

Comparatively, see chapter 27 of Ezekiel as well.

XIII. The papacy, once robbed of its throne, will not cease to cause trouble, but rather will once more gather all its strength for battle. This, however, will be the final attempt, which will serve for the complete destruction of the pope, together with his followers. The nineteenth chapter of Revelation deals with this, especially verses 11-21:

Then I saw heaven opened, and there was a white horse! Its rider is called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he judges and makes war. His eyes are like a flame of fire, and on his head are many diadems; and he has a name inscribed that no one knows but himself. He is clothed in a robe dipped in blood, and his name is called The Word of God. And the armies of heaven, wearing fine linen, white and pure, were following him on white horses. From his mouth comes a sharp sword with which to strike down the nations, and he will rule them with a rod of iron; he will tread the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty. On his robe and on his thigh he has a name inscribed, 'King of kings and Lord of lords.' Then I saw an angel standing in the sun, and with a loud voice he called to all the birds that fly in midheaven, 'Come, gather for the great supper of God, to eat the flesh of kings, the flesh of captains, the flesh of the mighty, the flesh of horses and their riders -- flesh of all, both free and slave, both small and great.' Then I saw the beast and the kings of the earth with their armies gathered to make war against the rider on the horse and against his army.

Now after this follows the total destruction of the beast, the pope, and his clerics -- the false prophets:

And the beast was captured, and with it the false prophet who had performed in its presence the signs by which he deceived those who had received the mark of the beast and those who worshipped the image. These two were thrown alive into the

⁷⁰ See the earlier reference to Tyre (or Tyrus) in paragraph VII and footnote #56 above.

lake of fire that burns with sulfur. And the rest were killed by the sword of the rider on the horse, the sword that came from his mouth; and all the birds were gorged with their flesh.

When we pay attention to the figures of speech, we are pointed toward two prophecies in Isaiah, which have to do with this same judgment. First, there is Is. 25, in which verses 6-8, among others, describe the same "great supper of God:"

On this mountain the Lord of hosts will make for all peoples a feast of rich food, a feast of well-aged wines, of rich food filled with marrow, of well-aged wines strained clear. And he will destroy on this mountain the shroud that is cast over all peoples, the sheet that is spread over all nations; he will swallow up death forever. Then the Lord God will wipe away the tears from all faces, and the disgrace of his people he will take away from all the earth, for the Lord has spoken.

The second relevant prophecy in Isaiah, is Is. 63:1 ff.:

'Who is this that comes from Edom, from Bozrah in garments stained crimson? Who is this so splendidly robed marching in his great might?' 'It is I, announcing vindication, mighty to save.' 'Why are your robes red, and your garments like theirs who tread the wine press?' 'I have trodden the wine press alone, and from the peoples no one was with me....'

In addition to the above scripture references, one can also compare Is. 34: 1-8 and Ezek. 35.

From all of these passages, a great difference can be seen between the judgment leading up to the end of the Antichrist and the absolute end of that judgment.⁷¹ For the hand of the Lord is at work in an even more obvious way than before, without the work of the outward arms of flesh.⁷²

⁷¹ The actual phrase that Lampe uses here is: "the final end of the judgment over the seat of the antichrist [*letzten Ende der Gerichte über den Antichristischen Stuhl*]." However, for translation clarity, it has been paraphrased. See *Geheimnis*, V, 850.

⁷² Though Lampe used this description (i.e., "the outward arms of flesh") earlier to describe earthly magistrates (See para. II, footnote #25 above.), he seems to be adding a different nuance to the meaning here. This is based on the following deduction: Predominantly, in the last few preceding paragraphs, Lampe has discussed and presented scriptures speaking of the involvement of plagues, storms, famine, etc., in the judgments of God. All of which are instruments of God's wrath. However, in this section, Lampe has been discussing a direct battle between the forces of God and the army of the Antichrist. Hence, in this sense, scripture is describing God's judgment more directly, without secondary means, or "outward arms of flesh." However, In another sense, if one holds the next sentence (i.e., "The church will bodily and spiritually enjoy the fruits of all this overcoming...") in a strict relationship with the one in question, then perhaps Lampe is speaking about how God's judgment on the true and false church, as a whole, will no longer be implemented through human forces, such as magistrates and governments, but will be directly from the hand of God. In either case, it seems as if Lampe is trying to stress that the Lord will absolutely be personally involved in the future happenings of his Church.

Furthermore, one should also note how the victory meal will be held.⁷³ The Church will bodily and spiritually enjoy the fruits of all this overcoming, and the heathens themselves, as the parallel to the birds, will be invited to the meal as well.

XIV. In these various stages of the destruction of the Antichrist, one pile of his followers after another will transfer over to the fellowship of the true church.⁷⁴ As Isaiah 19:21-25 states:

The Lord will make himself known to the Egyptians; and the Egyptians will know the Lord on that day, and will worship the sacrifice and burnt offering, and they will make vows to the Lord and perform them. The Lord will strike Egypt, striking and healing; they will return to the Lord, and he will listen to their supplications and heal them. On that day there will be a highway from Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian will come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians will worship with the Assyrians. On that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth, whom the Lord of hosts has blessed, saying, 'Blessed by Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my heritage.'

One can add to this: Ps. 68:32; Is. 66:14-18; Ps. 45:13; and Zech. 14:10 as well.

XV. Indeed, even the borders of the Church will be further expanded, so that the heathen nations from all the ends of the earth will come and submit themselves to the Kingdom of the Messiah. The prophecies about this are numerous; in particular, note Psalm 68:31-33:⁷⁵

Let bronze be brought from Egypt; let Ethiopia hasten to stretch out its hands to God. Sing to God, O kingdoms of the earth; sing praises to the Lord, *Selah*. O rider in the heavens, the ancient heavens; listen, he sends out his voice, his mighty voice.

⁷³ Lampe does not introduce this sentence with, "Furthermore, one should also note how...." The original introduction of "and then" has been modified to help with contextual continuity. This moderation does not alter the significance of this statement. In the German, this statement is as follows: "*Und alsdan wird das Siegesmahl gehalten werden....*" See *Geheimnis*, V, 851. The reader should also take special note of the interesting symbolism that Lampe ascribes to the birds mentioned within the preceding scripture references. Compare this reference concerning the salvation of the heathen to that made earlier in para. VI. See footnote #52 above.

⁷⁴ Again, note the universal tendency here.

⁷⁵ Actually, Lampe says "Psalms 68:32-33." However, he then goes on to give verses 31-33. Hence, the correction has been made. *Geheimnis*, V, 852.

Furthermore, there is Isaiah 11: 10-11:

On that day the root of Jesse shall stand as a signal to the peoples; the nations shall inquire of him, and his dwelling shall be glorious. On that day the Lord will extend his hand yet a second time to recover the remnant that is left of his people from Assyria, from Egypt, from Pathros, from Ethiopia, from Elam, from Shinar, from Hamath, and from the coastlands of the sea.

And there is Isaiah 66:19:

And I will set a sign among them. From them I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish, Put and Lud -- which draw the bow -- to Tubal and Javan, to the coastlands far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations.

And there is also Revelation 11:15:⁷⁶

The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Messiah, and he will reign forever and ever."

XVI. When the full number of the heathen have entered,⁷⁷ then all of Israel will be saved (see Romans 11:25-26).⁷⁸ Nothing is more clearly or more frequently stated by the prophets. Moreover, the amazing preservation of the Jewish people during their labor of servitude, and their dispersion allows us not to doubt this. Indeed, the covenant with Abraham is made unto the thousandth generation (see Exodus 20:6 and Psalm 105:8). For this reason it is written in Leviticus 26:44-45 that:

When they are in the land of their enemies, I will not spurn them, or abhor them so as to destroy them utterly and break my covenant with them; for I am the Lord their God; but I will remember in their favor the covenant with their ancestors

⁷⁶ Here is another "typo"; for Lampe says "Revelation 12:15, but then goes on to cite Revelation 11:15. Hence, the correction has been made. *Geheimnis*, V, 853.

⁷⁷ This (i.e., "the full number of the heathen") is Lampe's qualifier to universal salvation. Lampe does not see all the heathen as coming to know the Lord, but only those who are divinely elected to do so.

⁷⁸ For an interesting comparison concerning Pietism's perspective on this traditional Protestant doctrine, compare the above with: Philip Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert (N.p.: Fortress Press, 1964), 76-79.

whom I brought out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations, to be their God: I am the Lord.

Compare this passage with Deuteronomy 30:3-4 and 32:43. In addition, the salvation of Israel is very clearly described after the conversion of the heathen in Isaiah 11:11-12:

On that day the Lord will extend his hand yet a second time to recover the remnant that is left of his people, from Assyria, from Egypt, from Pathros, from Ethiopia, from Elam, from the coastlands of the sea. He will raise a signal for the nations, and will assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.

There is also Hosea 3:4-5, which states:

For the Israelites shall remain many days without king or prince, without sacrifice or pillar, without ephod or teraphim.⁷⁹ Afterward the Israelites shall return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; they shall come in awe to the Lord and to his goodness in the latter days.

And one can also add to these Isaiah 59:20; Is. chapters 63 and 64; Zech. 12:10-14, 13:1; Ps. 85:2-9; Song of Solomon 8:8-10; and Micah 7:18-20. However, the fact that this conversion does not take place suddenly and all at once, but rather more slowly and by means of various

⁷⁹ Lampe uses the term "*Heiligthum*", which means "relic". However, he then gives the following parenthetical statement: "actually Teraphim, idolatry" (*eigentlich Teraphim, Götzendienst*). Here he equates Teraphim with idolatry because of the association that Teraphim has with "*Hausgott*", or "household god". It is true that the Hebrew term that is translated as "household gods" in the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible is *teraphim*. (This term is also translated in the NRSV as "idol." However, at times it stands untranslated as "teraphim" -- as is the case in Hosea 3:4 above.). Of course, this term is found elsewhere in the Old Testament, (For example, see: I Samuel 19:13+16, Judges 17:5, Judges 18:14, II Kings 23:24, Ezekiel 21:21, Hosea 3:4 and Zechariah 10:2.) and when collectively viewed, teraphim seems to particularly identify large or small idols (Compare the text in question, Hosea 3:4, with I Sam. 19:13. The latter text may suggest that teraphim were larger in size.), which are somehow related to wizardry (See II Kings 23:24.) and/or divination (See Ezek. 21:21 and Zech. 10:2.). They were present in individual homes (See I Sam. 19:13+16.), and thus, could imply that they were involved in some form of ancestor worship. [The *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (ISBE) states that the connection between the teraphim and ancestor worship may or may not be so, but the idea "is not improbable." See: "Images," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 1915 ed., 1455.] Moreover, there is evidence that they were also located in shrines as well (See Judges 17:5 and 18:14.), which could suggest their involvement in public worship, or idolatry as well. However, "they are never directly spoken of as objects of worship....," (ISBE, 1455.) and if "they were images of Jeh [Yahweh] is a baseless supposition...." (Brackets mine. ISBE, 1455.) In light of all this, it is easy to understand why Lampe was a bit unclear in his identification of the word "teraphim". However, in the text in question, "relic" would seem most appropriate.

preparations,⁸⁰ is seen in the story of Ezekiel 37, where the stubborn Israel is the valley of dry bones that the prophet sees in verses 7-10:

So I prophesied as I had been commanded; and as I prophesied, suddenly there was a noise, a rattling, and the bones came together, bone to its bone. I looked, and there were sinews on them, and flesh had come upon them, and skin had covered them; but there was no breath in them. [This is the beginning of the conversion, which has already been fulfilled through the sciences that have sprung up among the Jews.]⁸¹ Then he said to me, 'Prophesy to the breath, prophesy mortal, and say to the breath: Thus says the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.' I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood on their feet, a vast multitude.

XVII. Indeed, the prophets assure us that the Jews will not only be converted, but they will also be returned to their land; and the ban placed upon it will be lifted. This is why Moses says that the Lord will be merciful to his land (See Deuteronomy 32:43.). Similarly, the same is particularly indicated in Ezekiel chapter 36, which promises the removal of all curses from the mountains of Israel, and says in verse 24:

I will take you from the nations, and gather you from all the countries, and bring you into your own land.

⁸⁰ An interesting and important thing to note here is the recurring theme of progression. Earlier, in paragraph VII, Lampe talked about how the nullification of the Antichrist was to take place progressively, and now he is saying the same about the salvation of the Jews. Hence, in both instances, we have support to Lampe's understanding of the progressive nature to salvation history.

⁸¹ Brackets by Lampe. In the German, this insertion by Lampe is as follows: "*Dis ist schon dem Anfang nach erfüllet in denen Wissenschaften, die unter den Juden empor zu kommen haben angehoben.*" See: *Geheimnis*, V, 856. The reference to science here is interesting. It seems as if Lampe is accrediting natural theology as the beginning of the Jews' conversion. If this is the case, then we find evidence here that supports Lampe's understanding of nature as the model of the divine-human covenant. (See the discussion on the Cocceian relationship between nature and the divine-human covenant in Part II of this paper, on pages 85-86.) For if natural science witnesses to the nature of the covenant, then as the Jews examine natural science, they are in fact being witnessed to by the divine-human covenant. However, this witness is only partial and insufficient (See chapter VI, footnote #39, on page 135 above.). It does, undoubtedly, point to the progressive and dispensational nature of the covenant, in that nature is progressive and seasonal, but the full revelation of the divine-human covenant is not made until Christ is viewed. Even so, this partial revelation, when combined with the existing covenantal knowledge of the Jewish people, can (and apparently in this case, does) imply a "beginning" in conversion. One should compare this thinking to Calvin's perspective on natural theology (Here, natural theology means that which comes forth through the physical and biological environment.). See: *Institutes*, I.5; McNeill's ed., 51-69.

Furthermore, verses 33-35 state:

Thus says the Lord God: On the day that I cleanse you from all your iniquities, I will cause the towns to be inhabited, and the waste places shall be rebuilt. The land that was desolate shall be tilled, instead of being the desolation that it was in the sight of all who passed by. And they will say, 'This land that was desolate has become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined towns are now inhabited and fortified.

The same is repeated in chapter 37:25-26, where a proper possession of the same land is promised:

They shall live in the land that I gave to my servant Jacob, in which your ancestors lived; they and their children and their children's children shall live there forever; and my servant David shall be their prince forever. I will make my covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary among them forevermore.

Likewise, the same is again assured by Jeremiah chapter 31, verses 8,12, and 23-24.

Furthermore, in verses 38-40, Jeremiah adds that Jerusalem will be rebuilt:

The days are surly coming, says the Lord, when the city shall be rebuilt for the Lord from the tower of Hananel to the Corner Gate. And the measuring line shall go out farther, straight to the hill Gareb, and shall then turn to Goah. The whole valley of the dead bodies and the ashes, and all the fields as far as the Wadi Kidron, to the corner of the Horse Gate toward the east, shall be sacred to the Lord. It shall never again be uprooted or overthrown.

Some go even farther than this and claim that a new temple will be built.⁸² This, however, is unfounded and goes against the style of the New Jerusalem. Whatever else may concern the wonderful gifts of grace that the Jews will then outwardly and inwardly possess, and of which the prophets treat extensively in attractive [*angezogenen*] prophecies, does not concern us here. For these gifts will be one with all the others that are to be enjoyed by the Church stretched out across the world. Therefore, we can certainly add much more information to all of this by reviewing these broader inward and outward gifts.⁸³

⁸² See the last part of footnote #98 below.

⁸³ Lampe again steps away from saying too much, or from over speculating. The clarity of this passage was obscure, the original is as follows: "*Was sonst die herrlichen Gnadengüter angehet, welche sie alsdan nach dem auswendigen und inwendigen besitzen werden, und wovon die Propheten ebenfals weitläufig in angezogenen*

XVIII. Prophecy cannot praise enough the glorious measure of the gracious gift of the Holy Spirit, who, so to speak, is being poured out anew so that the whole Church is being filled with such glory, the likeness of which has not been seen since the beginning of the world. From the numerous applicable passages, we will highlight only the following:

(1) Isaiah 32:15-18:

Until a spirit from an high is poured out on us, and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field, and the fruitful field is deemed a forest. Then justice will dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness abide in the fruitful field. The effect of righteousness will be peace, and the result of righteousness, quietness and trust forever. My people will abide in a peaceful habitation, in secure dwellings, and in quiet resting places.

(2) Psalm 72:15-17:

Long may he live! May gold of Sheba be given to him. May prayer be made for him continually, and blessings invoked for him all day long. May there be abundance of grain in the land; may it wave on the tops of the mountains; may its fruit be like Lebanon; and may people blossom in the cities like the grass of the field. May his name endure forever, his fame continue as long as the sun. May all nations be blessed in him; may they pronounce him happy.

(3) Isaiah 60:20-22:

Your sun shall no more go down, or your moon withdraw itself; for the Lord will be your everlasting light, and your days of mourning shall be ended. Your people shall all be righteous; they shall possess the land forever. They are the shoot that I planted, the work of my hands, so that I might be glorified. The least of them shall become a clan, and the smallest one a mighty nation; I am the Lord; in its time I will accomplish it quickly.

(4) Joel 3:17-18:⁸⁴

Weissagungen handeln, dabei halten wir uns nicht auf, weil dieselbe einerlei sind mit allen andern, die von der über den gantzen Erdboden ausgebreiteten Kirche sollen genossen werden, und von denen wir, so wohl nach dem in als auswendigen, noch einige Meldung müssen hinzufügen." Geheymnis, V, 858-859.

⁸⁴ This reference is misprinted in the original, for Lampe gives Joel 3:22-23 as the reference to the corresponding citation, but these verses do not exist. The actual text that he cites is Joel 3:17-18.

And Jerusalem shall be holy, and strangers shall never again pass through it. In that day the mountains shall drip sweet wine, the hills shall flow with milk, and all the stream beds of Judah shall flow with water; a fountain shall come forth from the house of the Lord and water the Wadi Shittim.

One can add to these references: Psalm 40:14-18; Ps. 98 and 148; Is. 35:5-8, 10; Is. 65:17-24; Zech. 14:20-21; and Dan. 12:2-3.

XIX. With the enjoyment of this heavenly gift of grace, there will be a great external security and peace, independent of any kind of internal disruptions and external persecutions. On this subject of the end of all internal fighting there stands Isaiah 11:13:

The jealousy of Ephraim shall depart, the hostility of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not be jealous of Judah, and Judah shall not be hostile towards Ephraim.

The freedom from all persecutions will also be assured. As Isaiah 11:6-9 states:

The wolf shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the calf and the lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. The cow and the bear shall graze, their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. The nursing child shall play over the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put its hand on the adder's den. They will not hurt or destroy on all my holy mountain; for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

Isaiah 35:9 also declares:

No lion shall be there, nor shall any ravenous beast come up on it; they shall not be found there, but the redeemed shall walk there.

And furthermore, Isaiah 60:18 states:

Violence shall no more be heard in your land, devastation or destruction within your borders; you shall call your walls Salvation, and your gates Praise.

In addition to these passages, also see Isaiah 65:25.

XX. This glorious condition of the church in the last days is painted rather comprehensively in the last three chapters of the Revelation of John; first as a thousand year reign (chapter 20), and then after that as the New Jerusalem descending from heaven (chapters 21 and

22). The first depiction is borrowed from Daniel 7, and the other is from the last chapter of the prophet Ezekiel.⁸⁵ For a better understanding of this glorious history, we have no choice but to add a few comments, and with them move quickly to our conclusion.

XXI. How detested have even the names of the chiliasts of former times been among us, since Cerinthus began to obscure the hope of Christ's millennial kingdom on earth with all sorts of absurd fables and enthusiasms;⁸⁶ and yet we do not hesitate to acknowledge and to believe that

⁸⁵ Here Lampe clearly suggest that the descriptions of the Millennium and the New Jerusalem are the same. However, latter he will suggest that these two descriptions may be speaking of two different periods in the Church's future. See paragraphs XXII and XXV.

⁸⁶ Cerinthus (ca. 100 A.D.) is primarily known in history through Irenaeus (130-200 A.D.), Hippolytus (170-236 A.D.), Gaius (unknown), and Eusebius (263-339 A.D.). In addition to these, Epiphanius [(315-330?)-403 A.D.] should be mentioned; for "the fullest description which we have of Cerinthus and his followers is that of Epiphanius." [See Arthur Cushman McGiffert's footnote #1 in Eusebius, *Church History*, trans. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, ed., Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, vol. 1 (1890; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), chap. 28 (page 160).] However, this description primarily deals with Cerinthus' life and his Gnostic christology. In other words, Epiphanius only presents interesting pseudo-historical biographical information and expounds upon that which Irenaeus puts forth in his account of Cerinthianism. Furthermore, Epiphanius presents many contradictions in his detailing of Cerinthus' theological system. Hence, in light of these factors, Epiphanius' description of Cerinthianism will not be discussed.

Irenaeus claims that Cerinthus understood Jesus to have been conceived through normal sexual relations between Mary and Joseph, and that Mary and Joseph were to be considered more "righteous, prudent, and wise" than any other persons. Furthermore, Irenaeus states that Cerinthus claimed that Christ descended on Jesus during the latter's baptism, and then departed Jesus prior to the cross, since Christ, or God, is impassible. However, Irenaeus does not mention any details concerning Cerinthus' practice or form of chiliasm. [See: Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, trans. and ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1 (1885; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), bk. 1, chap. 26, para. 1. Also see 3.3.4 and 3.11.1.]

Our second historical source, Hippolytus, follows Irenaeus in the presentation of Cerinthus' positions, but he suggest a different locale for the origin of Cerinthus' teachings. He claims that Cerinthus preached and lived in an Egyptian provenance rather than in one of Asia Minor, as claimed by Irenaeus. Modern investigations into this problem have provided sound comparisons between the origin and authority of the writings of the two Church Fathers, in respect to their statements concerning Cerinthus, and have presented plausible alternatives to the traditional view that Hippolytus simply made additions to Irenaeus' account on the basis of his own biases and prejudices. However, such investigations have not been able to produce additional information concerning the views of Cerinthus, particularly in the area of eschatology. [See: Benjamin G. Wright III, "Cerinthus Apud Hippolytus: An Inquiry into the Traditions about Cerinthus' Provenance," *The Second Century* 4, no. 2 (1984): 103-115. Also see: Robert M. Grant, "The Origin of the Fourth Gospel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 69 (December 1950): 305-322.]

The third person to speak of Cerinthus was Gaius, as recorded by Eusebius. Benjamin G. Wright states: "A number of sources report that at the time of Bishop Zephyrinus (198-217 C.E.) a certain Gaius (or Caius) appeared in Rome and composed a tractate against the Montanist Proclus. In this *Dialogue* Gaius maintained against the Montanists that it was Cerinthus who authored the Apocalypse attributed to John. Eusebius, in the forth century, knew this work and quoted it: 'Then there is Cerinthus, who by revelations purporting to have been written by a great apostle presents us with tales of wonder falsely alleged to have been shown to him by angels.'" [See: Wright, 109. Also see: Eusebius, 2.25, and 3.28.1.] Even though there is no historical evidence to provide

the prophecy of John, concerning the aforementioned thousand year reign, will still find its fulfillment in future times.⁸⁷ However, the matter itself speaks in the following way:

- (1) So far, no period can be pointed to in which the Church has had such a freedom from all persecutions and temptations of the devil, or when it looked like what the scriptures describe as being the thousand year period. Those who start this time period with Constantine, close this period with one in which Satan makes the most disturbances. Those who begin the thousand year period earlier than this, cannot avoid the fact that a large portion of the time is included in a period in which Christianity has been in servitude.⁸⁸

the basis for this claim by Gaius, it does, at least, suggest that Cerinthus promoted some kind of apocalyptic theory, or form of chiliasm.

Finally, Eusebius gives us the only clear information on the eschatological views of Cerinthus. In 3.38.2 of Eusebius' Church History, Eusebius states that Cerinthus thought that after the resurrection: the kingdom of Christ would be on earth, the flesh would "once more serve lusts and pleasures," and there would be "a period of a thousand years, to be spent in wedding festivities." [See: J. Stevenson, ed., A New Eusebius Documents Illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337 revised ed. (London: SPCK, 1992), 50, 255.] Most assuredly, these chiliastic ideas, are those that Lampe calls "absurd fables and enthusiasms." For more information on Cerinthus, see the brief bibliography in: G. Krüger, "Cerinthus," The New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia, vol. 2, 1908. Furthermore, for an opinion on Cerinthus from an Augustinian view of the Millennium (See footnote #88 below.), see: H. M. Riggle, The Kingdom of God and the One Thousand Years' Reign (Guthrie, OK: Faith Publishing House, 1899), 15-19.

⁸⁷ Here Lampe clearly asserts his belief in a physical, future millennium.

⁸⁸ In both cases (i.e., in the case of those either attributing the initiation of the Millennium to Constantine, or to an earlier period) Lampe is speaking to those who primarily held to an Augustinian understanding of the Millennium; for such an understanding places the Millennium in Lampe's (as well as our own) current history. In order to fully understand how this is so, it is appropriate to briefly review Augustine's views. Hence, to begin with, Augustine states: "'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day,' [thus,] there should follow on the completion of six thousand years, as of six days, a kind of seventh-day Sabbath in the succeeding thousand years; and that it is for this purpose the saints rise [see Rev. 20:4], viz. , to celebrate this Sabbath." [Augustine, The City of God, trans., Marcus Dods, ed., Philip Schaff, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, first series, vol. 2 (1887; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), bk. 20, chap. 7.] After saying this, Augustine goes on to describe how the thousand year period, which involves the risen Saints, is to be understood. He writes: "Now the thousand years may be understood in two ways, so far as occurs to me: either because these things happen in the sixth thousand of years or sixth millennium, as if during the sixth day, which is to be followed by a Sabbath which has no evening, the endless rest of the saints, so that, speaking of a part under the name of the whole, he [the Apostle John in Rev. 20] calls the last part of the millennium -- the part, that is, which had yet to expire before the end of the world -- a thousand years; or he used the thousand years as an equivalent for the whole duration of this world, employing the number of perfection to mark the fullness of time. For a thousand is the cube of ten. For ten times ten makes a hundred, that is, the square on a plane [surface]. But to give this [surface] height, and make it a cube [and thus encompassing all dimensions], the hundred is again multiplied by ten, which gives a thousand. [Now], if a hundred is sometimes used for totality, as when the Lord said by way of promise to him that left all and followed Him, 'He shall receive in this world [a] hundred-fold;' ...[than] with how much greater reason is a thousand put for

totality since it is the cube, while the other is only the square." (Augustine, 20.7. Brackets mine) In other words, Augustine understood the Millennium as representing the last of seven individual periods of one thousand years each; or as the last thousand years of one time span equaling seven thousand years. In either case, the seventh period, represents an open ended (i.e., "a Sabbath which has no evenings") era, which in turn, represents "perfection to mark the fullness of time." And the fullness of time marks the coming of Christ and the establishment of his Church. Hence, Augustine understands the thousand year reign of Christ as being initiated through both the person and work of Christ, and the advent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. However, Augustine did not base his understanding of the Millennium solely on his allegorical and mathematical interpretations of the days in creation and II Peter 3:8 (i.e., one day is like a thousand years), but also on his interpretation of Rev. 20:6. In this verse, he understood the phrase "first resurrection," as meaning the transition from death to life that is brought about spiritually through the saving work of Christ. Furthermore, the "second death", which the Apostle goes on to mention later within the same verse, is understood by Augustine as being the preamble to a second resurrection in which all will rise to face judgment. In the second resurrection, the faithful in Christ will receive physical eternal life (for they receive spiritual life in the first resurrection) and the eternal gift of their heavenly home in the everlasting presence of their Lord. However, the unfaithful will receive eternal damnation. All of this is succinctly put when Augustine writes: "[There are two resurrections], -- the one the first and spiritual resurrection, which has place in this life, and preserves us from coming into the second death; the other the second, which does not occur now, but in the end of the world, and which is of the body, not the soul, and which by the last judgment shall dismiss some into the second death, others into that life which has no death." (Augustine, 20.6. Brackets mine.) Hence, in light of this understanding, the rising of the Saints for a thousand years, or for the seventh millennium, or for a Sabbath era, is understood as those who come into spiritual life through the first resurrection. Furthermore, any saints who have been physically killed, because of their first resurrection, are still in communion with the Church, and co-reign with Christ as well. All this is plainly stated, when Augustine writes: "The Church even now is the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly, even now His saints reign with Him, though otherwise than as they shall reign hereafter; and yet, though the tares grow in the Church along with the wheat, they do not reign with Him.... It is then of this kingdom militant, in which conflict with the enemy is still maintained, and war carried on with warring lusts, ...until we come to that most peaceful kingdom in which we shall reign without an enemy, and it is of this first resurrection in the present life, that the Apocalypse speaks in the words just quoted [i.e., Rev. 20:6]. [Furthermore,] the souls of the pious dead are not separated from the Church, which even now is the kingdom of Christ; otherwise there would be no remembrance made of them at the altar of God in the partaking of the body of Christ.... Therefore, while these thousand years run on, their souls reign with Him, though not as yet in conjunction with their bodies.... The Church, then, begins its reign with Christ now in the living and in the dead." (Augustine, 20.9. Brackets mine.) Therefore, one sees that for Augustine the thousand year Sabbath, via. the first resurrection, is one of spiritual rest and joy, and that physically, the Church is to fight on indefinitely until the second resurrection. This view contrasted the prevailing chiliasm of his time, which followed Cerinthus' model and saw the thousand year period as being a physical time to come, in which "to enjoy the leisure of immoderate carnal banquets". (Specifically note Schaff's edition of Augustine's *City of God*, 20.7, page 426. Also note footnote #5 on page 426 as well.)

In consideration of these thoughts by Augustine, one can obviously see how the two positions mentioned by Lampe above have their root in such thinking; for in this context, all history since Christ is millennial history. However, more needs to be said concerning the idea of the Millennium as beginning with Constantine the Great. Even though this idea falls within the broader scope of Augustine's system, it was not produced by the latter's pen.

One might suspect the origination of this idea as coming from Eusebius of Caesarea, since the latter had such a great bias in favor of Constantine, and since his writings most assuredly suggest that the Emperor's reign issued forth a new era in Christianity. [See: Eusebius, *The Oration of Eusebius Pamphilus, In Praise of the Emperor Constantine*, trans. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd. series, vol. 1 (1890; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994).] However, even though Eusebius speaks of Constantine as being beloved of God, as having his imperial authority from above, and as being a "victor in truth" (See: J. Stevenson, 367,369. Also see: Eusebius, *The Oration of Eusebius*, 5.1-4.); these comments, among others, only promote Eusebius' Hellenistic political theory on how emperors, like Constantine, should model themselves after the one great emperor of the universe -- God. [For an interesting investigation into the roots of Eusebius' political theory, see: Norman H. Baynes, ed., *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 168-172.] They do not distinguish Constantine as the one who initiates the

- (2) The fact that the occurrence of the Antichrist must come before the thousand year reign is understood not only because Revelation 19, 20 and 21 are unquestionably outlined in the context of the Antichrist, but also because, in the face of this fact, there is information

"open ended" thousand year rule of Christ and his Church. [For a brief look into the parameters of Eusebius' eschatology, see: Timothy D. Barnes, Constantine and Eusebius (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 101, 172-173.] Then where does this idea come from; and of whom may Lampe be speaking?

The answer to this two part question lies in a connection with the Sibylline Books preserved at Rome. Norman Cohn best explains the connection between the idea of Constantine as the initiator of the Millennium and these texts, when he writes: "The apocalyptic of Hellenistic Judaism" included some books which, like the famous Sibylline Books** preserved at Rome, claimed to record the utterances of inspired prophetesses. In reality these 'oracles', written in Greek hexameters, were literary productions which were intended to convert pagans to Judaism and which did in fact enjoy a great vogue amongst them. When proselytizing Christians in turn began to produce Sibylline prophecies they drew heavily on these Jewish Sibyllines. This new prophetic literature still knew only one eschatological Savior: the warrior-Christ as he had appeared in the Book of Revelation. But ever since Alexander the Great the Graeco-Roman world had been accustomed to deify its monarchs. There had been Hellenistic kings who carried the title of 'Savior' and Roman Emperors who were accorded divine honors in their lifetime. It was therefore not surprising that, as soon as Christianity joined forces with the Empire, Christian Sibyllines should greet the Emperor Constantine as the messianic king." [Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 32. Asterisks mine. Note: *According to Cohn (31-32), amidst the rapid acceptance of the Augustinian millennial view of third century Christianity, Hellenistic Jews maintained an apocalyptic and prophetic emphasis in their teachings, and kept the idea of a future Millennium alive "in the obscure underworld of popular religion" (32). **Eusebius mentions in his work, The Oration of Constantine, a pagan prophetess named Daphne; and as recorded in the Samuel Bagster and Sons translation of this work, Daphne was a priestess at Delphi, the daughter of Tiresias, and was called Sibyl "on account of the wildness of her looks and expressions when she delivered oracles." Hence, the name of the texts mentioned by Cohn, and preserved at Rome, derive their name from this reference in Eusebius. See: Eusebius, The Oration of the Emperor Constantine, trans. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, ed., Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, 2nd. series, vol. 1 (1890; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), chap. 18. Particularly note footnote #2 on page 574 of this edition. Also see: Alfons Kurfess, "*Kaiser Konstantin und die Erythäische Sybille*," Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 4 (1952): 42-56.] Hence, in light of this, it is not surprising that this consideration of Constantine would, over time, transform into strictly pertaining to chiliastic hopes. Especially during the Middle Ages, when chiliasm was to make a resurgent challenge to the orthodox Augustinian view. (See Cohn. His entire book is dedicated to the development of Milleniarism throughout the Medieval period.) Now, in light of the long influence of these texts, it is most probable that Lampe, when mentioning those who claim that the Millennium began with Constantine, is speaking of those who held to a Sibylline influence. [For additional information on the role that the Sibylline texts play in the development of biblical eschatology, see: Ernest C. Lucas, "The Origin of Daniel's Four Empires Scheme Re-examined," Tyndale Bulletin 40, no. 2 (1989): 185-202. In addition, for an example of a Sibylline oracle, see: Schaff's and Wace's edition of Eusebius' The Oration of Constantine, footnote #4, 575.]

At this point, one additional note should be made. Though Lampe shows knowledge of the Sibylline variant of chiliasm (i.e., "those who start this time period with Constantine"), and of the Augustinian view (i.e., specifically "those who begin the thousand year period earlier than with Constantine"), he does not properly identify the "open-endedness" of the Sibylline millennial concept. To be valid, amidst the reality of the absence of the consummation of history at the end of the one thousand years following Constantine's death, the millennial idea surrounding Constantine would have to be "open-ended," like Augustine's "Sabbath which has no evening." Thus, Lampe, should not have said that "they *close* this period"; rather he should have stated it in a less definitive way, like his next sentence. This may appear to be a minor point; but in order for one to clearly understand Lampe's own positions, one should also clearly recognize those he is trying to refute.

about those souls who: were martyred for Christ and for the sake of God's Word; did not pray to the beast nor to his image; did not take the sign of the beast on their foreheads; and who lived and reigned with Christ for a thousand years.⁸⁹ Thus, Revelation 20:4 is to be placed in a time prior to the beginning of the thousand year reign and up through the time when the persecutions by the image of the beast have been fulfilled.

- (3) That the occurrence of the Antichrist is a presupposition for Revelation chapter 20, is clear from verse 10; where it says that the Devil, who leads the heathen astray after the thousand year reign (see verses 7-8), is also thrown into the abyss where the beast and the false prophet were previously thrown. Now, in considering Rev. 20:10, it is sufficiently shown that the judgment described in Rev. 19:20 is one long in the past; and therefore, the leading astray of the heathens, which is to follow the thousand year reign, is very different from the persecution of the Church under the Antichrist. Furthermore, to silence those who would place the tyranny of the Antichrist after the thousand year reign, it would be necessary to restrict it to the small amount of time in which Satan, according to verse 3, will be released after its fulfillment -- this is absurd.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Revelation 20:4 states: "Then I saw thrones, and those seated on them were given authority to judge. I also saw the souls of those who had been beheaded for their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God. They had not worshipped the beast or its image and had not received its mark on their foreheads or their hands. They came to life and reigned with Christ a thousand years."

⁹⁰ Here Lampe is again speaking out against the Augustinian view (which was the Catholic understanding in his day). Augustine understood the beast, or the adherents of the Antichrist as "those men who profess to believe, but live as unbelievers," (Augustine, *City of God*, 20.9) and he understood the Antichrist of the time prior to the final resurrection as being primarily the Devil himself, or an absolute manifestation of his evil doings, like the Roman empire was prior to the inauguration of the spiritual Millennium. (See Augustine, 20.19.) Thus, Augustine, understood the time of the last persecution of the Antichrist as being during the three and a half year period of Satan's release. This is succinctly put when Augustine writes: "This last persecution by [the] Antichrist shall last for three years and six months...." After stating this Augustine goes on to qualify if this period should be understood as falling within the one thousand year period, or after it. (See Augustine, 20.13.) He does this, because he sees a problem in the idea of the reign of the saints coming to a brief end prior to their most glorious finale. He finally resolves it by saying that the reign of the saints continues through the three and a half years, but that the devil's imprisonment does not. He argues that the minuscule number of three and a half, when in relationship to the rounded number of one thousand, lends itself to this interpretation. In any event, Augustine understood the three and a half years as the last persecution of the Antichrist, which is to come at the end of the open-ended spiritual Millennium, and just prior to the bodily and final resurrection. Lampe is opposing this view not only through the perspective of anticipating a physical Millennium, but also through seeing the Antichrist and Satan as two distinct entities, at two distinct times.

- (4) In addition there is the prophecy of Daniel 7, from which our view is derived, which rather clearly puts the 1,260 days, or years,⁹¹ of the kingdom of the beast first (i.e., prior to the thousand year reign).⁹² In respect to this, verses 25-27 read clearly as follows:

He shall speak words against the Most High, shall wear out the holy ones of the Most High, and shall attempt to change the sacred seasons and the law; and they shall be given into his power for a time, two times, and half a time. Then the court shall sit in judgment, and his dominion shall be taken away, to be consumed and totally destroyed. The kingship and dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the holy ones of the Most High; their kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey them.

XXII. The New Jerusalem, which is described in Revelation 21 and 22, must also come about in the end times of the New Testament, and not, as some believe, with the triumphal state of the Church in heaven.⁹³ This fact has already been well proven by many theologians.⁹⁴ The primary reasons for this are:

- (1) Jerusalem is not seen by John to be ascending, but rather descending from heaven.⁹⁵

⁹¹ See footnote #55 above.

⁹² Parentheses mine.

⁹³ Once again Lampe is referring to Augustine's view, for Augustine clearly understood the New Jerusalem as the "triumphal state of the Church." This is clearly voiced when he writes: "This city is said to come down from heaven, because the grace with which God formed it is of heaven.... It is indeed descended from heaven from its commencement, since its citizens during the course of this world grow by the grace of God, which cometh down from above through the laver of regeneration in the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. But by God's final judgment, which shall be administered by His Son Jesus Christ, there shall by God's grace be manifested a glory so pervading and so new, that no vestige of what is old shall remain; for even our bodies shall pass from their old corruption and mortality to new incorruption and immortality.... In the words, 'God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, but there shall be no more pain, 'there is so manifest a reference to the future world and the immortality and eternity of the saints, -- for only then and only there shall such a condition be realized -- that if we think this obscure, we need not expect to find anything plain in any part of Scripture." (Augustine, 20.17.)

⁹⁴ Here Lampe gives the following footnote: "[For example,] one can examine Mr. D' Outrein's New Jerusalem, in which the matter is clearly and powerfully asserted." *Geheimnis*, V, 866.

⁹⁵ Compare this interpretation of "descending" with footnote #93 above.

- (2) During this descent a voice was heard, which said: "See, the home of God is among mortals."⁹⁶ This points to the state of the church militant;⁹⁷ for first, a symbol of grace is not needed by the church triumphant,⁹⁸ and second, in the future eternity, God will not have a dwelling with humans, but rather the chosen will be given a place with God.
- (3) Revelation 21:24 states that the heathen who become holy will walk in the light of the New Jerusalem, and the kings of the earth will bring their glory into it;⁹⁹ and verse 25 states that its gates will not be closed on that day, in order to bring in even more people.¹⁰⁰ Then verse 26 follows: "People will bring into it the glory and honor of the

⁹⁶ This is taken from Rev. 21:3.

⁹⁷ Here, ironically, Lampe is using the phrase "church militant," which, though commonly used throughout the whole of Christian tradition, was coined by Augustine. Even though Augustine used the phrase "kingdom militant," the irony in similarity is still interesting here; especially since Lampe is refuting the Augustinian view of the Millennium. See footnote #88 above. Also, in particular, see: Augustine, 20.9.

⁹⁸ Here Lampe gives the following footnote: "Luke 16:9 appears to contend against this. However, opposite to the Mosaic home, nothing else is required for the New Testament Church to be understood as the eternal home, which will receive those who were disengaged from the blessings of the earthly Canaan by the Mammons of unrighteousness. [This eternal home] is what Psalm 118:15 calls 'the tents of the righteous.'" (*Geheimnis*, V, 866. Brackets mine.) Lampe is addressing two distinguishable, yet connected, ideas in the sentences above. First, in mentioning the passage in Luke, Lampe seems to be speaking of a possible contradiction with the sentence that follows above (i.e., "God will not have a dwelling place with humans, but rather the chosen will be given a place with God."). Luke 16:9 states: "And I tell you, make friends for yourselves by means of dishonest wealth so that when it is gone, they may welcome you into the eternal homes." At face value, and without thorough exegesis of the Parable of the Dishonest Manager, one can see the difficulty that this text has in relation to the concept of an eternal dwelling with God in heaven, for this text makes it sound like eternal dwellings are on earth. Needless to say, there is much obscurity to exactly what Lampe is getting at here. The second idea presented in Lampe's footnote relates somewhat to the Cocceian understanding of the forgiveness of sin for the Patriarchs. (See Part II of this paper, pages 61-62.) As Christ provides and then fulfills the saving faith of the Old Testament community, he also fulfills the promise of their eternal home through the establishment of the New Testament Church.

In addition to all this, what is meant above (in the body of this paper) by "a symbol of grace," is the Temple. Though the NRSV translation of Rev. 21:3 uses the word "home," and though Lampe does as well in his aforementioned footnote; in the Greek, the term means "tabernacle," or "temple." Now, the temple, of course, was a dwelling place for God among his people, and a physical symbol to the Israelites that God had shed grace upon them in choosing to dwell among them. Hence, in addition to defining the New Testament Church as the eternal home for all who believe, Lampe is also saying here that the symbol and indwelling of the Temple will not exist in heaven, and therefore, Rev. 21, in speaking of a home among mortals, must only be speaking of an earthly and temporal reality.

⁹⁹ Rev. 21:24 states: "The nations will walk by its light, and the kings of the earth will bring their glory into it."

¹⁰⁰ Rev. 21:25 states: "Its gates will never be shut by day -- and there will be no night there."

nations."¹⁰¹ This then, abundantly shows that the continuation and fulfillment of all of the heathen nations will correspond with the bloom of this New Jerusalem. It is for this reason that Rev. 22:2 states that the leaves of the tree of life will serve for the health of the heathen.¹⁰²

- (4) Along with all of the above, there is the agreement that this prophecy (i.e., concerning the New Jerusalem) has with other prophecies in the Old Testament; namely Isaiah 60 and Ezekiel 47, which clearly describe the state of the Church on earth.
- (5) Finally, we must add to all of this the fact that even in these glorious end times, there will still be sinners left over who shall remain cut off from the fellowship of the Church. This is why Revelation 21:27 was written; and it states:

But nothing unclean will enter it, nor anyone who practices abomination or falsehood, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life.

And Rev. 22:11 states:

Let the evildoer still do evil, and the filthy still be filthy, and the righteous still do right, and the holy still be holy.¹⁰³

Then there are these words from Daniel 12:10 and Revelation 22:14-15:

Many shall be purified, cleansed, and refined, but the wicked shall continue to act wickedly.¹⁰⁴ Blessed are those who do his commandments,¹⁰⁵ so that they will have the right to the tree of life and may enter the city by the gates. Outside are

¹⁰¹ The NSRV uses the word "nations" here, but Lampe uses the term "*Heiden*," or "heathen." See *Geheimnis*, V, 867.

¹⁰² Rev. 22:2b states: "On either side of the river is the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, producing its fruit each month; and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations."

¹⁰³ Lampe only provides the first part of this verse. See: *Geheimnis*, V, 868.

¹⁰⁴ This is Daniel 12:10a. In the original, Lampe does not give any part of Daniel 12:10, but rather proceeds directly into citing Rev. 22:14-15. See: *Geheimnis*, V, 868.

¹⁰⁵ In this verse (Rev. 22:14a), the NRSV states: "Blessed are those who wash their robes...." However, the NSRV notes that some ancient manuscripts read: "Blessed are those who do his commandments...." Since the NSRV points this out, and since Lampe follows this reading in his *Geheimnis*, the newer phrase has been substituted by the older one. See: *Geheimnis*, V, 868.

the dogs and sorcerers and fornicators and murderers and idolaters, and everyone who loves and practices falsehood.

No matter how much we dislike acknowledging that there will be rotten leftovers even in the new heaven and the new earth; we are still held to the fact through observing Ezekiel 47:11, which states: "But its swamps and marshes will not become fresh; they are to be left for salt."

XXIII. In addition to all of the above, there will still be one more deception and one more persecution of the Church after the thousand year reign. This, however, will not have very much impact and will not have a long duration.¹⁰⁶ In Revelation 20:3 it is stated very clearly that, after a thousand years, Satan will be loosed for a short time. This loosing, as well as the outcome hoped for by the Church, is described in verses 7-10:

When the thousand years are ended, Satan will be released from his prison and will come out to deceive the nations at the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, in order to gather them for battle; they are as numerous as the sands of the sea. They marched up over the breadth of the earth and surrounded the camp of the saints and the beloved city. And fire came down from heaven and consumed them. And the devil who had deceived them was thrown into the lake of fire and sulfur, where the beast and the false prophet were, and they will be tormented day and night forever and ever.

The prophecy of Ezekiel 38 and 49 are comparable with this passage as well.

XXIV. After all of the above, the final judgment will follow. This is described in Revelation 20:11-15:

Then I saw a great white throne and the one who sat on it; the earth and the heaven fled from his presence, and no place was found for them. And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne, and books were opened. Also another book was opened, the book of life. And the dead were judged according to their works, as recorded in the books. And the sea gave up the dead that were in it, Death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and all were judged according to what they had done. Then Death and Hades were thrown into the

¹⁰⁶ See footnote #90 above.

lake of fire. This is the second death, the lake of fire; and anyone whose name was not found written in the book of life was thrown into the lake of fire.

However, it is somewhat unclear as to whether these words actually refer to the final judgment, or to an antecedent one; which, through its circumstances, would serve as the foreshadowing and herald of the final judgment.¹⁰⁷ How I surely desire to overcome my doubts about this, but the following factors lie in the way:

- (1) If the final judgment is dealt with in this prophetic book, then it is very strange for its description not to be deferred until the book's complete conclusion.
- (2) If the writing of the book is intended for the comfort of God's people,¹⁰⁸ then it is even more unusual for the last judgment to be described in such a manner as to speak only of the dead and not the living; or only of the damnation of the Church's enemies and not the glorification of the people of God.
- (3) The expressions that are the most necessary for us to think about the Last Judgment, when we compare them to identical prophecies, could also be used to describe an antecedent judgment in the Church Militant. When heaven and earth are described as fleeing from God's presence,¹⁰⁹ is it not close to the expression related to Psalm 102:26-27? The latter states (vs. 25 ff.): "Long ago you laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of your hands. They will perish, but you endure...." Then note the following: "The children of your servants shall live secure; their offspring shall be established in your presence."¹¹⁰ This promise clearly ties our thoughts to the Church on earth. In addition,

¹⁰⁷ The importance of this thought is fully covered in the conclusion following this translation. In addition, this thought is first introduced in our discussion of the seventh level of the *Hielsordnung*. See pages 208-211 above.

¹⁰⁸ John states that the purpose of Revelation is to show God's servants "what must soon take place." However, in Rev. 1:3 the author of the book states that those who read, hear, and keep this prophecy are and will be blessed. Perhaps Lampe is taking the word "blessed" to mean "comforted." Rev. 1:3 states: "Blessed is the one who reads aloud the words of the prophecy, and blessed are those who hear and who keep what is written in it; for the time is near."

¹⁰⁹ Due to the quality of the text available to the author, the line actually used by Lampe here was not fully translatable. Lampe gives the following: "*Wann zum [?]rempel Himmel und Erde wird fliehend vorgestellt....*" However, in the context of the discussion, the above translation should figure appropriately.

¹¹⁰ Here Lampe is quoting Psalm 102:28.

when the announcement of the great white throne and the opening of the books occurs in Revelation 20:11-12, we not only see that the cardinal parts of this vision are entirely allegorical, but that the allegories are borrowed from Daniel 7:9-10; where, without contradiction, a spiritual judgment of God is expressed. Now, in further regard to the use of allegory and Rev. 20:11-15,¹¹¹ the greatest difficulty lies in the resurrection of all the dead; for it has not been shown that Revelation 20:11-15 is talking about all the dead, instead it has only spoken of those which the sea, death, and the grave, or Hell, shall give up. In the allegory of the Holy Spirit,¹¹² these entities are understood as certain enemies of the Church, and in particular, as destructive heathen nations. It would be difficult to show the difference between the sea, death, or the grave, not to mention the difficulty in explaining how death and the grave can be cast into the fiery lake, unless they are understood to mean specific destroyers of the Church. Those who understand the first resurrection of the thousand year reign (see Rev. 20:4) in a spiritual way are tied up in yet another difficulty; because Rev. 20:5 clearly compares the first resurrection with the second mentioned in verse 13:¹¹³ "The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended." Now, would it not follow that if the first resurrection is spiritual, then the second would be as well?¹¹⁴ I well know, that the strength of this argument may escape those who understand the resurrection of the millennial reign (or the first resurrection)¹¹⁵ as a physical [*liebliche*] resurrection. However, even as plausible as

¹¹¹ This clause is an addition.

¹¹² Here there is support for the Cocceian/Lampean third approach to theology. This approach is that the Word of God must be revealed and interpreted through the Holy spirit. See Part II, page 77 of this paper. Also relate this to footnote #59 above

¹¹³ For a better transition in thought, this sentence has had the scripture references added to it.

¹¹⁴ See the reference to this difficulty in the conclusion following this translation.

¹¹⁵ Parentheses mine.

they (i.e., those who hold to a physical resurrection)¹¹⁶ may make their opinions, particularly through a comparison with Daniel 12:2 (which in this place is rightly compared), there still remain many questions; especially since the allegory of the resurrection is used commonly in the Holy Scripture for all deliverances pertaining to the Church in all periods. With all this said,¹¹⁷ the information itself will certainly have to decide whether or not the first resurrection at the beginning of the Millennium, as well as the second resurrection at its end, should be understood spiritually.

- (4) Finally, to all of this must be added the difficulty involved in understanding Rev. 21:1.¹¹⁸ For whoever understands Rev. 21:1 correctly can do none other than conclude that the New Jerusalem will follow the judgment described in Rev. 20:11-15. For it is written: "Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more." (With this we are pointed back to the fleeing of the earth and the heaven at the judgment, as mentioned in 20:11.) Now, since the new Jerusalem is supposed to be founded on earth after the judgment, then certainly, this judgment must not be the last.¹¹⁹

XXV. Now, out of the uncertainties mentioned above, one other arises, namely: Does the new Jerusalem describe a glorious period in the Church that will yet follow the thousand year reign, or does it signify the same period in the Church?¹²⁰ If we understand Rev. 20:11 as the final Judgment, then there is really no great difficulty in understanding that the happiness,¹²¹ which

¹¹⁶ Parentheses mine.

¹¹⁷ This clause is an addition.

¹¹⁸ This sentence is an addition.

¹¹⁹ See the reference to this thought in the conclusion following this translation.

¹²⁰ See the reference to this thought in the conclusion following this translation.

¹²¹ Note the use of the term "happiness" [Glückseligkeit], this is the term that we called felicity earlier in this study. (See Part II, pages 96-98. Also see: Stoeffler, Rise of Evangelical Pietism, 124-126.) Here Lampe is speaking of the third and final stage of felicity. See Part II, pp. 97-98.

was described in 20:4-6 in only a summarizing way, is put forward in great detail under another vision in the last two chapters. Nevertheless, those who place this new vision in a following period present nothing absurd. This is so for the following reasons:

- (1) They are following the most natural order of the book.¹²²
- (2) Such a reality¹²³ could be a probable explanation for why the changes of the New Testament Church are presented not only in seven, but also in eight days, as in the Festival of Booths,¹²⁴ or in eight years, as in the Year of Jubilee.¹²⁵
- (3) Similar to the book of Revelation,¹²⁶ after a very glorious period in the Church had previously been described, a new heaven and a new earth are thought of in Isaiah 65:17 and 66:22. Those however, who understand the judgment of the preceding chapter (i.e., Rev. 20)¹²⁷ in a spiritual manner,¹²⁸ are even more obligated to place the new Jerusalem after the millennial kingdom and after the extermination of the Gog and Magog. We leave the resolution of these uncertainties to the counsel of God.

XXVI. Meanwhile, what is better, since such great and contemplative confrontations still lie in the future, than that God's people prepare themselves for them with holy watchfulness? For this reason our Savior closes his sermon on the future confrontations of the Church in Luke 21:34-36 with these words:

¹²² See the reference to this thought in the conclusion following this translation.

¹²³ The phrase, "such a reality," is an addition.

¹²⁴ This relates to Leviticus 23:39.

¹²⁵ This relates to Lev. 25:20-22.

¹²⁶ The phrase, "similar to the book of Revelation," is an addition.

¹²⁷ Parentheses mine.

¹²⁸ Here Lampe seems to be speaking of an actual spiritual Judgment, rather than an allegorical one. See arguments in the conclusion following this translation.

Be alert at all times, praying that you may have the strength to escape all these things that will take place, and to stand before the Son of Man.

This watchfulness is especially enjoined so as not to be carried away during the temptation of the sixth hour, which now cannot be far off.¹²⁹ As Rev. 16:15 states:

See, I am coming like a thief! Blessed is the one who stays awake and is clothed, not going about naked and exposed to shame.

XXVII. Since the future changes in the glorification of the Church are going to be much stronger than those which have come before, God's children must look for them with a longing anticipation. This is why our Savior says in Luke 21: 28-31:

Now when these things begin to take place, stand up and raise your heads, because your redemption is drawing near....¹³⁰ Look at the fig tree and all the trees; as soon as they sprout leaves you can see for yourselves and know that summer is already near. So also, when you see these things taking place, you know that the kingdom of God is near.

The anxious waiting and longing of creation "for the revealing of the children of God," as is expressed in Romans 8:19-22, looks to all the degrees of the glorification that the Church still expects on earth.¹³¹ And this expectant waiting must be expressed in a prayer of longing whereby every member of the Church must hold the relevant promises before the Lord in order that it may be fulfilled in the proper time.¹³² There must be no silence here, until Jerusalem is finished and is set for God's glory on the earth (See Is. 62:6-7.). For this reason we close this work with the same sighing with which both the profound books of prophecy end:¹³³

¹²⁹ See noted chronological speculations in footnote #55 above.

¹³⁰ After this sentence, there is a narrative statement by Luke ("Then he told them a parable"), which Lampe includes in his citation of the text. However, Lampe introduces the text as words being spoken by Christ, thus, in order to keep the proper syntax, Luke's statement has been omitted from the above.

¹³¹ Note the progressive and developmental language here (i.e., "to all the degrees of the glorification").

¹³² This line establishes obvious support for the thesis topic. See footnote #88.

¹³³ Here Lampe is speaking of Song of Solomon and Revelation.

Make haste, my beloved, and be like a gazelle or a young stag upon the mountains of spices!¹³⁴ The Spirit and the bride say, 'Come.' And let everyone who hears say, 'Come.' And let everyone who is thirsty come. Let anyone who wishes take the water of life as a gift.¹³⁵ The one who testifies to these things says, 'Surely I am coming soon.' Amen.¹³⁶

Yes, come Lord Jesus! Amen.

Synthesis and Conclusion

The part of Lampe's eschatology that has the most significance for our study, for reasons that will be made clear as we continue, is his understanding of the Last Judgment. In paragraph XXIV Lampe suggests that the judgment described in Rev. 20:11-15 may not be the Last Judgment,¹³⁷ and that it may either serve as an allegorical "pre-ultimate" description of the end of the world,¹³⁸ or it may be an actual and separate spiritual judgment preceding the final physical one.¹³⁹ If Lampe were to hold to the first view, than the last two chapters in Revelation, which speak of a New Jerusalem, would be considered as a further description of the Millennium. If he holds to the latter view, which means that he sees Rev. 20:11-15 as an actual literal judgment in and of itself, but not as the final one, then he could say that the New Jerusalem is a subsequent and separate era from the Millennium, and that presumably, the judgment to follow this era would be the third and final one. (It would be third because it would follow the judgment before and after the Millennium.)

¹³⁴ Song of Solomon 8:14.

¹³⁵ Revelation 22:17.

¹³⁶ Revelation 22:20.

¹³⁷ Lampe states: "However, it is somewhat unclear as to whether these words actually refer to the final judgment, or to an antecedent one; which, through its circumstances, would serve as the foreshadowing and herald of the final judgment." See page 314 above.

¹³⁸ Point three on pages 314-316 suggests this.

¹³⁹ Point four on page 316 suggests this.

Now, Lampe has clearly described the New Jerusalem as being on earth,¹⁴⁰ and he has also described the Millennium as being a physical future reality.¹⁴¹ We also know that he does not see Rev. 21 and 22 as describing the Church triumphant.¹⁴² Therefore, in light of these facts, Lampe must see the judgment in Rev. 20:11-15 as either the final one; or as an allegorical description of the Last Judgment. In either case, he must see the New Jerusalem as a further description of the Millennium, in order to be in line with what has been presented so far.

However, there is evidence to suggest that Lampe understands the New Jerusalem as a separate era from the Millennium; and the judgment in Rev. 20:11-15 as an actual and separate spiritual reality as well. This evidence is formulated through the following factors: First, Lampe says in chapter six of book five of his *Geheimnis* that sad and happy times alternate between the periods of history.¹⁴³ He also says that some periods are happier than others, and some are more sad than others; but that the first and last periods of history are the happiest.¹⁴⁴ In addition, one must remember that the Millennium is considered by Lampe as being the seventh and "last" period in history. Second, in paragraph VI, Lampe says the seventh period of the Church will start after a brief decline in the Church.¹⁴⁵ He then adds that at the same time that God corrects "Laodicea" and initiates the wedding of the Lamb, he will also carry out the postponed judgment over the Antichrist.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, from paragraphs XIV-XIX Lampe clearly paints the picture of the seventh era after the destruction of the Antichrist.¹⁴⁷ Next, in paragraph XX Lampe states how

¹⁴⁰ See paragraph XXII on pages 310-313 above.

¹⁴¹ See paragraph XXI on pages 305-310 above.

¹⁴² See paragraph XXII on pages 310-313 above.

¹⁴³ *Geheimnis*, V, 270.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ See page 285 above.

¹⁴⁶ See page 285 above.

¹⁴⁷ See pages 298-305 above.

this glorious time in the church, which is discussed in paragraphs XIV-XIX, is described in more detail in Rev. 20-22, which speaks of the Millennium and the New Jerusalem.¹⁴⁸ Now, when considering these connections in thought, there is no doubt that Lampe understood the Millennium as the seventh era, and that the seventh era would begin after the Antichrist. Thus, in light of the first factor (i.e., that there will be alternating happy and sad times, and that the last period in history will be the happiest) the Millennium is the happiest of times. But if the New Jerusalem is to follow, than it would be yet a happier period. But since these "eras" are so much alike, the difference in the degree of happiness would seem to be small. Now, if the shift in the degrees of happiness is small; and the shift itself is into a period beyond the normal sevenfold parallelisms of Lampe's system; is it not safe to assume that the alternating sad time would be small and out of the ordinary as well? Would not the three and a half year release of Satan fit this description?¹⁴⁹ Since it is small in its duration; would it not parallel the small shift in the degrees of happiness? Moreover, since it is out of the ordinary; in that it is not as long as the other periods in history and that it comes after all other "standard" periods; would this not parallel the extraordinary reality of an eighth era?¹⁵⁰ Hence, with all this combined with the facts mentioned earlier (i.e., that Lampe spoke of the Millennium and the New Jerusalem in similar physical terms, and described both as being a future reality on earth); would this not suggest that Lampe understood the era of the Millennium as passing through the sad period of Satan's release, and/or of spiritual judgment, into an eighth day of history? Furthermore, if one keeps all of this in respect to Lampe's desire to hold the literal order of the Book of Revelation in tact;¹⁵¹ would this not suggest an actual spiritual judgment and a new, but separate earthly era as well? Therefore, when considering all of this with the fact that Lampe also presents evidence of seeing the New

¹⁴⁸ See page 305 above.

¹⁴⁹ See page 311 above.

¹⁵⁰ Lampe presents the idea of an eighth era or eighth day of history in paragraph XXV, see pages 317-318 above.

¹⁵¹ In paragraph XXV, Lampe presents the idea that the natural order of the Book of Revelation does seem to support the idea of the New Jerusalem as being an eighth and separate era. See pages 317 above.

Jerusalem as a further description of the Millennium, it appears that Lampe could hold to any of the three views. He could either hold to Rev. 20:11-15 as being the Last Judgment; or as being an allegorical expression of the Last Judgment; or as being a second spiritual one, antecedent to the final end of the world.

The implications involved with these views are numerous and profound. First, if Lampe understands the judgment in Rev. 20:11-15 as an allegorical one, or as an antecedent spiritual judgment, then Lampe encounters a major problem. For if Rev. 20:11-15 is describing the conclusion to the judgment described prior to the Millennium in Rev. 20:4-5, then would not this judgment be allegorical or spiritual as well?¹⁵² And if the first restriction is spiritual, then would this not fit right into the Augustinian view of things, which Lampe has been rejecting all along?¹⁵³ Furthermore, this problem produces one in the opposite direction as well. For if the Millennium is spiritual and the first part of the judgment, or the first resurrection is spiritual, then would not the second part of the judgment, or Rev. 20:11-15, be spiritual as well? Now, since the second judgment issues forth the New Jerusalem (See Rev. 21:1-2.), then would not the New Jerusalem be spiritual? And if this were the case, then would not any physical Last Judgment be left as the unwritten "reality" of Scripture? And if this were so, then would this not allow for the Last Judgment to be placed in the far distant future, which could cause it to lose "its position as a sanction for ethics,"¹⁵⁴ or could encourage a natural rationalistic development toward universal salvation to replace a proper biblical view of salvation history?

Obviously, there are many difficulties here, but what about the other position? What if Lampe understands Rev. 20:11-15 as the physical Last Judgment; what then? First of all, if this is the case, then there is no other option than to see Rev. 21-22 as either a further description of the

¹⁵² Lampe hints to this difficulty in point four three of paragraph XXIV, see page 316 above.

¹⁵³ See footnote #88 above.

¹⁵⁴ The expression, "its position as a sanction for ethics," will be discussed in more detail later, and is taken from: James P. Martin, The Last Judgment In Protestant Theology From Orthodoxy to Ritschl (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1963), 74.

Millennium, or as a description of the Church Triumphant. However, it has already been stated that Lampe does not see it as the Church Triumphant.¹⁵⁵ Hence, if he holds to Rev. 20:11-15 as the Last Judgment, then he must hold to seeing the New Jerusalem as a further description of the Millennium. But if this is the case, then what about heaven? Why would a writing designed for the comfort of souls¹⁵⁶ end on a description of the final judgment, without going on to describe a heavenly condition?¹⁵⁷ Is the Millennium, or the New Jerusalem on earth, to be the fullest state of joy and peace that we as creation can expect? If so, then is heaven going to be on earth? This seems to go against what Lampe said in paragraph XXII (i.e., "God will not have a dwelling with humans, but rather the chosen will be given a place with God"). In light of this it would seem that if Lampe does see Rev. 20:11-15 as the Last Judgment, then the New Jerusalem must be the Church Triumphant. But we know he did not hold to this view through his comments at the start of Paragraph XXII.¹⁵⁸ Hence, when all is said and done, there is no resolution here. There is contradiction and difficulty in every direction. First, if the judgment is allegorical, then the Millennium and the New Jerusalem is most likely allegorical as well, and Scripture is left open-ended. Second, if the judgment is an actual spiritual one, and consequently, the New Jerusalem is a separate era, then one has the same problems as represented under the preceding point -- Scripture is left open ended. And last, if one holds to Rev. 20:11-15 as the Last Judgment and does not see Rev. 21-22 as the Church Triumphant, then the message of hope in John's book is abruptly ended, and the doctrine of heaven is left in obscurity.

The above controversies, or difficulties, have three major consequences. First, the very nature of the confusion over the Millennium and the New Jerusalem, or the "Sabbath Age" links Lampe directly to views preceding Augustine. This is to be expected since chiliasm was launched

¹⁵⁵ See page 310 above.

¹⁵⁶ See footnote #108 above.

¹⁵⁷ Lampe raises this argument in this paragraph XXIV under point #2. See page 314 above.

¹⁵⁸ See footnote #93 above.

from the pre-Augustine era. However, particularly speaking, Lampe seems to closely identify with the confusion generated by Lactantius (240-320 A.D.) and Commodianus (c. 240 A.D.).

These two, especially Lactantius, fused the concepts of the Millennium, or the seventh period of history, with the eighth day of eternity. Marjorie Reeves describes their understanding, when she writes:

Although the Sabbath Age takes place after the Last Judgment and General Resurrection, it is clearly an Age of Gold of the Earth, in which the stars will be brighter, the land will flower and fruit more abundantly, and so on. Although achieved through a supernatural agency, it is an age of creation and it has a definite time span.¹⁵⁹

From this citation one can easily see the confusion that arises. Reeves clearly points out that such thinking saw the Sabbath age after the Last Judgment (most definitely meaning the final one), and yet it was thought to have a limited time span. What will happen after the time is up? Another judgment? A transition into heaven? What? These questions directly parallel the ones asked over Lampe's ambiguity. Hence, there can be no doubt that Lampe transmits the difficulties of Lactantius and Commodianus in his own writings.¹⁶⁰

The second thing that all this confusion does is to challenge some contemporary views concerning the position of the Last Judgment within historic Pietism. James P. Martin, in his

¹⁵⁹ Marjorie Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages, A Study in Joachimism (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969), 297.

¹⁶⁰ For brief biographical sketches on Commodianus and Lactantius, see: Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, vol. 2, 854-856, 864-866. For Commodianus' eschatology, see: Commodianus, The Instructions of Commodianus In Favor of Christian Discipline, Against The Gods of the Heathens, trans., Robert Ernst Wallis, eds., Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 4 (1885; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), chap. 43-45. For a look into the background of Lactantius' eschatological predictions, and for some insight into his blending of the "Sabbath Era" with the Millennium, see: O.P. Nicholson, "The Sources of the Dates In Lactantius' Divine Institutes," The Journal of Theological Studies 36, no. 2 (1985): 291-310. For Lactantius' eschatology, see: Lactantius, The Divine Institutes, trans., William Fletcher, ed., Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 7 (1886; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), bk. 7, chap. 23-26. For the historical development of the "Sabbath Era" concept, and for further insight into its blending with the Millennium, see: Robert M. Johnston, "The Eschatological Sabbath in John's Apocalypse: A Reconsideration," Andrews University Seminary Studies 25, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 39-50. For a look at the "Sabbath Era" confusion in the middle ages, and its relationship to Joachim of Fiore, see: Reeves, Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages, 295-305.

book The Last Judgment, claims that Pietism reoriented the eschatological dynamic of salvation from the perspective of the Last Judgment to the life and death of individuals. In other words, the interpretation of the dynamic of expectancy and urgency within the call to salvation shifted from a cosmic eschatological category to one of an individualistic eschatology.¹⁶¹ In light of the above confusion, and in light of Lampe's practical concerns for the individual, one may readily agree that Lampe fits into Martin's claim. For if Lampe did not have a clear view on the cosmic Last Judgment, then truly his tones of urgency and expectation must rest solely in the individualistic category. However, Lampe makes it clear in paragraphs XXVI and XXVII that what can be said of the future times of the Church through scripture beckons one to be watchful and ready. Moreover, Lampe clearly sees "cosmic" eschatology as pertaining to one's salvation, for he states:

This watchfulness is especially enjoined so as not to be carried away during the temptation of the sixth hour, which now cannot be far off.

Hence, the end times should encourage us to maintain our salvation, so one will not "lose" it. Though this sounds more like a Wesleyan doctrine, than a Calvinist one, there is no doubt that it is a thought which clearly ties the end times with one's permanent salvation, or with one's "sealing". But how does one reconcile this, or Lampe's clear ethical eschatology, with Lampe's ambiguity over the Last Judgment, which does allow for the possible removal of its ethical sanction?

The key to solving this problem, is not to focus on the Last Judgment in and of itself, but on that which it produces. Lampe may be open to different perspectives on the Last Judgment, but he is not opened to variances on the fact, that in the end there will be a total destruction of evil, the total glorification of the Church, and the renewal of creation. This glorification and renewal is not rationally actualized as the humanist would think, rather it takes place through the development of salvation history through Christ and the Last Judgment. Martin might argue that this makes the Judgment just another event in a long series of events, and so it would still produce

¹⁶¹ See: Martin, 67-75.

the loss of its ethical sanction.¹⁶² However, for Lampe the Last Judgment is not just the last event, or the linking event between this world and the next; rather it is total fulfillment and renewal for the historical process. It will bring full meaning to all that has been, and will bring understanding to all that will follow it. With such great meaning, it cannot be deemed as just another event, but as a central Christocentric event which beckons us to "work out our salvation" (to use the words of Paul). This is evident in Lampe, when he writes in paragraph XXVII above:

Meanwhile, what is better, since such great and contemplative confrontations still lie in the future, than that God's people prepare themselves for them with Holy watchfulness? ...Because of the future changes in the glorification of the Church are going to be much stronger than those which have come before, God's children must look for them with a longing anticipation.

Therefore, Lampe does in fact hold to the orthodox view of seeing salvation connected to eschatology as well as with soteriology. However, it is not the threat of doom, but the renewal through the Judgment, that produces the eschatological salvific dynamic for Lampe. Yet, even so, Lampe does not dismiss the negative position. In fact, his difficulty with Rev. 20:11-15 is caused by his desire to hold the positive position (i.e., the emphasis on renewal) and the negative position (i.e., emphasis on destruction, or the consummation of history) in tension with each other. He wants to see the absolute best description of renewal as possible on earth (this fits his Cocceian covenantal progression and renewal motifs), yet he wants to hold to the significance of the Last Judgment in and of itself (this fits to his orthodox and partial deterministic motifs). If Rev. 20:11-15 is viewed allegorically, then emphasis is put on renewal through growth and development. If the judgment is a separate spiritual one, then again, the emphasis is on growth and development. And if Rev. 20:11-15 actually represents the final end, then you have the more traditional understanding of an abrupt end to all things. But despite this tension, the Judgment either directly or indirectly beckons one to "work out their salvation." For if Rev. 20:11-15 is taken allegorically, then the judgment that it allegorically speaks of, and its preceding renewal should

¹⁶² See: Martin, 74.

call us to watchfulness. If the judgment is a spiritual one, then it and its following renewal should call us to watchfulness. And if Rev. 20:11-15 describes the Last Judgment in and of itself, then it and its preceding Millennium of renewal should call some us to watchfulness. If any view is taken, renewal either precedes or follows the Judgment. Hence, if it precedes it, then let this warn you of the impending judgment; if renewal follows, then be watchful for the Judgment just the same. In any event, the Judgment is central in Lampe, but only in the context of renewal. In light of this, it has been shown that Lampe clearly goes against Martin's partial evaluation of Pietism. Here, therefore, Lampe's thought promotes that not all Pietists be stereotyped into one classification, and that Martin should reevaluate his thinking with respect to the use of the eschatological dynamic within Pietism's doctrine of soteriology.

The third thing that Lampe's confusion over the Last Judgment does, is open him to being considered as a key influence upon those who have traditionally been recognized as original in their eschatological thinking; or who have, at least, not been linked to him in any way. For example, Frank D. Macchia states that Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702-1782) acquired his eschatological thinking primarily through Jakob Boehme (1575-1624) and Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752).¹⁶³ Oetinger understood creation as moving forward to its total transformation into a higher level of existence. This progressive transformation began through the resurrection of Christ and finds its absolute fulfillment in the Kingdom of God. Furthermore, the Kingdom of God is present now in the processes of nature as well as in the processes of our hearts.¹⁶⁴ Hence, as an individual progresses with Christ through this life, they move from the Kingdom of God "here and now," to the Kingdom of God "there and then." Likewise as history moves through time and within the impact of Christ's resurrection, it too is coming to its fulfillment. Oetinger calls this entire cosmic process, including our process within it, a "new birth" or a "conversion".¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ See: Frank D. Macchia, Spirituality and Social Liberation The Message of the Blumhardts in the Light of Wuertemberg Pietism (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1993), 11.

¹⁶⁴ Macchia, 12.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

Macchia accredits this aspect (i.e., the cosmic process within a Christocentric context) of Oetinger's work as stemming from Boehme.¹⁶⁶ However, such thinking is identical to Lampe's. Moreover, the majority of this paper has shown this aspect of Lampe's thought (i.e., the cosmic process within a Christocentric context); but how does Lampe's confusion over Rev. 20:11-15 parallel or impact Oetinger? This question cannot be answered until we look at the next influence that Macchia accredits to have influenced Oetinger's eschatology -- Bengel.¹⁶⁷

According to Macchia, Oetinger held to much of Bengel's eschatology, except he "de-emphasized chiliasm and stressed instead a belief in the restoration (*Wiederbringung*) of all things."¹⁶⁸ Oetinger did hold to the idea of a thousand year kingdom on earth, but he saw it primarily as being Spirit-centered. In other words, he saw it as a time in which the Spirit would be universally poured out and there would be a time of universal peace and justice on earth. Macchia says that these elements primarily came from Bengel.¹⁶⁹ Then Macchia implies that Oetinger's real genius lay in his blending of the idea of a cosmic transformation and a Spirit-centered Millennium with the living wisdom of Scripture.¹⁷⁰

Apparently, to Oetinger, the wisdom of God was the "Life of God." As we understand God's wisdom, we understand that renewal and transformation, both cosmic and personal, is the purpose of his wisdom through Christ's death and resurrection. Furthermore, as we understand this present transformation we appropriate the present ministry of the Spirit and expect the complete fullness of his blessings in the Spirit-centered Millennium.¹⁷¹ All of this is nothing more than a derivative of Lampe's theology. For we have already stated that both Lampe and Oetinger

¹⁶⁶ Macchia, 12.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 11-13.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 13.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ See: Ibid., 12-14.

saw the cosmic and personal processes as parallel to one another in being understood as one whole conversion. Second, we saw in Part II of this paper that Lampe, in following Cocceius, understood Scripture as a harmonious and organic whole.¹⁷² This is very similar to how Oetinger understood the Word as the living wisdom of God. And finally, in paragraphs XVIII and XIX of this chapter, Lampe clearly states that there will be an outpouring of the spirit during the Millennium like the world has never known, and that there will be universal justice and peace.¹⁷³ Now, if one takes all of these parallels with Oetinger and combines them with the possibility of the Millennium as being understood as a spiritual reality on earth, which Lampe allows for through the confusion over Rev. 20:11-15, then a complete chain of parallels is established between Lampe and Oetinger. This is so because Oetinger did in fact understand the Millennium as being a spiritual reality on earth. (Lampe's allowance for this understanding corresponds to the view which would see Rev. 20:11-15 as an actual spiritual judgment. This would make the first resurrection spiritual, which would imply that the Millennium is as well. But this would be different from the Augustinian view, for the Millennium would actually represent an earthly era still to come in a future time.) Hence, though Macchia is correct in linking Oetinger with Bengel and Boehme, it has been clearly shown that Lampe fits into the category of possible influences as well. Oetinger is only one example. Perhaps such parallels could be made between Lampe and others as well. In any event, it is clear that Lampe should not be ignored, and should not remain in the shadows of obscurity. His discussion on the Last Judgment, has only emphasized this fact even more.

The three things produced by Lampe's discussion on the Last Judgment have been: (1) a link, and/or revival of pre-Augustine eschatology; (2) a basis for questioning some contemporary understandings of the place of the Last Judgment among historic and/or Reformed Pietism; and (3) a focal point through which to examine possible Lampean influences within post-Lampean

¹⁷² See pages 75-76 above.

¹⁷³ See pages 303-305 above.

eschatology. These three items definitely argue for Lampe's obscurity to end. Therefore, they accomplish part of this paper's purpose: to portray the need to evaluate Lampe's theology, and particularly his eschatology. However, Lampe's discussion on the position of the Last Judgment has served other purposes as well. First, it has provided evidence of his tension between the development involved in salvation history and its containment, or predetermined aspects. Lampe understands the end as bringing a total transformation (to use Oetinger's words) or renewal to the world, an eighth day, so to speak. He also sees the world, or history, developing, or moving, through Christ; and coming to completion, or fulfillment in the end. Moreover, he understands that individuals play a part in this movement toward completion. This has been supported throughout the entire thesis, but especially through the above discussion concerning the Last Judgment. For example, in paragraph XXVII, Lampe writes:

And this expectant waiting must be expressed in a prayer of longing whereby every member of the church must hold the relevant promises before the Lord *in order that it may be fulfilled in the proper time*.¹⁷⁴

This quote surely substantiates the fact that the individual plays a role in the advancement of the coming kingdom. Hence, in light of his Cocceian perspective on covenantal process and the active participation of individuals within the cosmic renewal, one clearly can see Lampe's developmental, almost rationalistic, viewpoint within his discussion on the end times. Yet, Lampe still holds to election, and to other pre-determined realities to be fulfilled, i.e., the salvation of the Jews, the restoration of their land, etc.. He also goes as far as predicting dates, though these are only "footnoted."¹⁷⁵ Hence, with all this, one sees Lampe's sense of divine containment, or determinism within his discussion on the end times. Furthermore, Lampe definitely sees a judgment happening in a future time, and he also sees a definite transformation of the world, both these things portray his orthodox "determinism;" for it will all happen in set times and within the context of established prophecies. However, he is not sure if Rev. 20:11-15 is the final "sad time"

¹⁷⁴ *Geheimnis*, V, 876-877. Also see page 319 above.

¹⁷⁵ See the last paragraph in footnote #55 above.

or developmental step through which a new era will form, or if it is the final end of all development. Moreover, if Rev. 20:11-15 is a spiritual judgment through which the New Jerusalem will emerge, then how long will the New Jerusalem exist; and will it develop until its final end? These things represent Lampe's leanings toward development; for the end seems a bit open-ended. Thus, in light of all this, we see that Lampe's discussion on the end times, and on the position of the Last Judgment, establishes: (1) evidence for this author's formulations in Part III of this paper (i.e., the importance of the tension between development and containment in Lampe); (2) provides evidence for the issue of the thesis (i.e., that Lampe did in fact see individuals as having a role within history while maintaining a tendency toward high Calvinist predeterminism); and (3) provides a basis to do further and more objective studies in Pietism, and more particularly in Lampe and Reformed Pietism. If Lampe offers so much, and yet is one of Pietism's most obscure individuals, then imagine what further investigations into Pietism as a whole could offer to the progression of theology.

Now, even though all of the above has made our study of Lampe valid, and has put forth a call to do further study, one must not overlook the personal inspiration that Lampe gives to us. For in a time when individuals were lost among post-war dilemmas and sterile orthodoxy, and feeling as if history and the Church had both abandoned them, Lampe offered a system of thought which affirmed God as being in control, and yet he allowed individuals to partake in the progress of the divine plan. If one could not understand the pain of the times, then Lampe assured them that God's will is just and trustworthy, and that all things are "contained" within it. Thus, one did not need to doubt amid one's sufferings. Furthermore, if one could not understand why the Church was the way that it was, or why it did not seem to offer much comfort, then one could do something about it. They could walk diligently with their Lord, and effect a change. And not only could they change the Church for the better, but accordingly, the Church could then move history closer toward its future glorification as well.

This message can still apply to us today. For in the midst of our struggles, there is the comfort that God is in control; and yet, understanding that God as in control does not need to

produce a fatalistic attitude. Rather it should inspire us to covenant with the Father, through the Son, and obediently work toward the transformation of history, and the kingdom of God. As one is faithful in watching and doing, history will move closer to its final purpose; and as history moves closer, one can be more and more encouraged to continue the "good fight of faith." Hence, as Lampe so eloquently put it:

There must be no silence here, until Jerusalem is finished and is set for God's glory on the earth.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ *Geheimnis*, V, 877. Also see page 319 above.

APPENDIX I

"PRAISE OF THE LORD JESUS"*

- (1) With a spirit of pure devotion, my heart sings to the One
Whom heaven, earth and sea,
And humanity and angels praise.
You began the work of heaven on earth.
You sought no other good, you knew no other life.
The fruit of the Spirit, who gives new life,
This was the purpose for which God had begotten you.
- (2) Who is more worthy of praise than you, O Lamb of God?
My God, ruler of my life, my treasure, my bridegroom!
You were the word of the Father
Before the mountains and hills stood.
From God and in God, God was made known,
God himself united with God.
What could a worm such as I,
Who was not yet, do to move you?
Why would you lay yourself down for one such as I?
- (4) How can I be thankful enough to you, my fortress?
Why would you stand in for a stranger's sin
Before it was ever committed?
You became a servant to loose my bonds.
You freely underwent curses and death
So that a child of death
Could be written into the book of life.
- (18) I was a contemptuous worm of Hell,
I laid in my own blood, an object of your wrath,
Like a brood of snakes, sold into the service of Satan,
And dead to good.
I was darkened in understanding,
The foundations of my will were decayed.
Like a leper, covered in pus,
I was the enemy of your name,
And a fighter against your kingdom.

* The following stanzas are found in: Thelemann, 10-13. Also see the note in chapter IV, footnote #136, on page 99 above.

- (19) My situation was so helpless,
But you wanted to show
What the strong arm of God and free grace could do.
I heard your voice, I saw the abyss blossoming,
I smelled sulfur, and the damned glowing therein.
Yet I remained as hard as stone,
And nothing could accomplish
The softening of my stony heart in repentance.
- (20) I steeped myself in damnations without number,
And if, back then, it had happened according to my choice,
I would have given up you and your eternal kingdom
For a few short years
Of living according to the lusts of the flesh.
The curse of the law could show my wicked ways,
But it could not incline my defiant heart toward your cross.
- (21) You ran after me, and called after me.
I fled from your voice.
The place I hid from the fury of your wrath
Was only a cocoon.
Nothing could still my conscience.
The fig leaves that I wore, while quaking, tore.
You forced the end to come,
For peace was not to be found
Until I left the world and allowed myself to be tied to you.
- (22) I was not fully aware of what happened to me in an instant.
The moment that you had determined
To be for my salvation had arrived.
My heart was torn in two,
And all objections were as wax in the hot sun.
Nevertheless, the air lost its smell and I wanted to curse it,
And turn from the door of grace if it was still open.

- (23) The Devil often shouted at me: Its too late.
And I thought that was probably how it really was,
For I had resisted you much too long,
And much too often.
My little boat would have gone down in this whirlpool
Had your Word not said,
That in spite of the old dragon,
You wanted to make possible
That which was impossible for flesh.
- (24) Then the fog of doubt disappeared,
And I fell at your feet, covered in shame,
And filled with self loathing.
I acknowledged my guilt and my nakedness.
I was deeply convinced of the great size of my poverty.
I threw away the rags.
My desire and ability were small.
Yet I desired to honor you alone.
- (25) I brought you my heart, as unclean as it was.
I gave it willingly.
I wanted you to burn it.
I wanted to see it destroyed.
I wanted you to place your holiness within it forever.
I became my own worst enemy.
I wanted to get used to putting my flesh to death
And taking up your yoke.
- (26) At first I did not recognize your glance of grace.
I was too far down in the condition of my heart.
So I continued with groaning, hoping, and mourning.
I despaired over myself, but not over you.
I cried: My Rock, have mercy, how long will you linger?
My silent sighs screamed this a thousand times.
- (27) This broke your fatherly heart.
You made it known to me,
In the light of your Word and through your Holy Spirit,
That I should not fear.
You said I should live.
You wanted to give yourself, and everything in you, to me.
If I would only and wholly choose you as my portion,
You would marry yourself to me in faith.

- (28) A joyful yes entrusted me to you.
You called me bride, and you became my groom.
Unequal marriage!
The King of Heaven loved a little mote of dust,
Who gives him nothing,
And to whom he gives everything.
You took away the chains, and gave me crowns of honor.
How poor I was, and yet you wanted to give yourself to me.
- (29) The worry was gone.
Your face was uncovered.
Your scepter was stretched out to me in mercy.
I now taste the bread of life
And the water that flows from Eden;
In contrast to what the world and futility can offer,
The world offers the apples of Sodom
And the vines of Gomorra,
Which are only ashes
And poison under their false shine.
- (30) I have broken my vows so often,
As I have toyed with a lack of devotion.
Yet you remain who you are.
You know of no regret,
As often as I repent, you seal it anew.
With your blood you forgive all guilt.
With you love, I will grow green and will not wilt.
- (32) Even though I am often fogged in
By thick the darkness of temptation,
Your covenant remains sure to me.
When I am afraid, from within and without,
When faith and hope begin to shake,
Then my dry spirit is moistened by your comfort,
As often as your clear light shines
Through the dark clouds.
- (35) Illuminate yourself in me, light of my life.
Tear me away from myself and give me yourself fully!
My will, my comfort, my time, my strengths,
My body and life, I give to you as your own.
You bought it all at a high price,
In order to make it your own.
You are my highest good.
I want to remain eternally yours.

- (36) I look to you.
I thirst day by day
For when I can look at you more closely in glory.
If your beauty has me so enchanted here on earth,
What will it be like when I am standing before you,
In front of your throne, with all the Seraphim,
To enjoy you in fullness and to serve you!

APPENDIX II

"MY LIFE IS A PILGRIM STAND" **

My life is but a pilgrim stand (state),
 A traveler to my fatherland,
 I seek the city with foundation,
 Whose Builder, Maker is my God;
 And gaining there my blest Abode,
 Would ever sing His great salvation.
 My life is here a pilgrim stand,
 I'm traveling to my fatherland.

The hours of life's uncertain day
 Haste on without a moment's stay;
 And when once gone, are gone forever,
 They bear me to eternity.
 Lord Jesus, give me eyes to see,
 What'er I need to know, discover;
 Nor let earth's vain delusions hide
 Thee from my sight, my only guide.

No journey is without its cares,
 Life's journey, too, my spirit wears;
 It is not all a bed of roses,
 The road is narrow, foes are strong,
 And oft entice me to the wrong.
 The tangled thorn my way opposes,
 O'er trackless wilds I'm forced to go,
 And groping, toil my passage through.

At times to me the sun is bright,
 That sun outshines its glorious light
 Alone to bless the pure in spirit;
 Then comes the raging, roaring storm,
 So loud, terrific its alarm,
 So dark, I can not help but fear.
 But when I think of joys above,
 My terror yields its place in love.

** Taken from Good, 626-627.

Then Jesus, once a pilgrim too,
 Wilt prove Thyself a Helper true;
 Of all my anxious cries a hearer,
 Thy warning word in mind I'll keep,
 And by Thy guidance every step
 Shall bring me to salvation nearer.
 My life and strength are waning fast,
 Lord, with Thy consolations haste.

That I may grow in holiness,
 With stronger faith my spirit bless,
 And thus of stumbling make me heedful;
 I daily fall, help me to rise,
 And by each fall yet more to prize
 Thy helping hand, so often needful.
 While in this darkened soul of mine,
 Thy beams of mercy brighter shine.

And while my heart, O God of Grace,
 Shall faint with longing for Thy face;
 Prepare my will for Thy fruition,
 When'er to earth my eyelids close.
 May i with Thee enjoy repose,
 Where sin and grief find no admission;
 Thy weary child bid thither come,
 To live with Thee, a blissful home.

My lot is here with strangers thrown,
 And by the world I'm little known;
 But there friends wait with joy to meet me,
 And there with those I love the most,
 I'll join in song the angel host,
 Whose glories with their welcome greet me.
 My Savior come, no more delay,
 And thither bear my soul away.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albright, Raymond. History of the Evangelical Church. Harrisburg: Evangelical Publishing House, 1956.
- Albright, William F. "The Hebrew Expression for 'Making Covenant' in Pre-Israelite Documents." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 121 (Feb. 1951): n.p.
- Althaus, P. Die Prinzipien der deutschen reformierten Dogmatik im Zeitalter der aristotelischen Scholastik. Leipzig: N.p., 1914.
- "Arminianism." The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed.
- Arminius, James. The Works of James Arminius. Trans. James Nichols and William Nichols. Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1986.
- Arndt, Johann. True Christianity. Trans. Peter Erb. N.d. Reprint. New York: Paulist Press, 1979.
- "Augsberg, Religious Peace of." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Vol. 2, 1908.
- Augustine. The City of God. Trans. Marcus Dods. Ed. Philip Schaff. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 2. 1887 Reprint. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.
- Baab, Otto J. The Theology of the Old Testament. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949.
- Baker, J. Wayne. "Covenant and Society: The *Respublica Christina* in the Thought of Heinrich Bullinger." Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1970.
- Barnes, Timothy D. Constantine and Eusebius. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Barnouw, Adrian J. The Pageant of Netherland History. New York: Langmans, Green and Co., 1952.
- Barth, Karl. "The Humanity of God" (1956 lecture). In God, Grace and Gospel Theologian of Freedom. Trans. and Ed. James Strathern McNab. London: Collins, 1989.
- , Church Dogmatics. Trans. and Ed. G.W. Bromiley. 4 vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956.

- Baumgart, Peter. "*Leibnitz und der Pietismus: Universale Reformbestrebungen um 1700.*" Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 48 (1966):101-128.
- Baynes, Norman H., ed. Byzantine Studies and Other Essays. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955.
- "Belgic Confession." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Vol. 12, 1912.
- Beyreuther, Erich. Geschichte des Pietismus. Stuttgart: N.p., 1978.
- Bierma, Lyle D. "German Calvinism in the Confessional Age: The Covenant Theology of Casper Olevianus." Studies in Historical Theology. vol. 4. Durham: Labyrinth Press, 1991.
- Bohatec, Joseph. Die cartesianische Scholastik in der Philosophie und reformierten Dogmatik des 17. Jahrhunderts. Part 1. Leipzig: A. Deichertische Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- "Boniface III." New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967).
- Brown, Dale W. The Problem of Subjectivism in Pietism: A Redefinition with Special Reference to Philip Jakob Spener and August Herman Franke. Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1962.
- Understanding Pietism. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1978.
- Brown, William Adams. "Covenant Theology." The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Ed. James Hastings. vol. 6. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928.
- Buchanan, George Wesley, The Consequences of the Covenant. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1970.
- Burrage, Champlin. The Church Covenant Idea: Its Origin and Its Development. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1904.
- Burrell, Sidney A. "Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters." Scottish Historical Review 43 (1964): 1-24.
- Butterfield, Herbert. Christianity and History. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950.
- Butler, Charles J. Covenant Theology and the Development of Religious Liberty. Philadelphia: Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, 1980.
- Calvin, John. Institutes of the Christian Religion. Ed. John T. McNeill. Trans. F. L. Battles. Vols. 20 and 21 of The Library of Christian Classics. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960.

- Calvin, John. The Mystery of Godliness and Other Selected Sermons. Ed. John Forbes. 1830. Reprint [A Selection of the Most Celebrated Sermons of John Calvin]. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1950.
- Cameron, James K. "The Swiss and the Covenant." In The Scottish Tradition. Ed. G.W. S. Barrow. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1974.
- Cassirer, Ernst. The Philosophy of the Enlightenment. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951.
- "Cerinthus." The New Shaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia. Vol. 2, 1908.
- "Charles V " The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed.
- Clouse, Robert G. "Covenant Theology." The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (1974), 267.
- "Cocceius, Johannes, and His School." The New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia. Vol. 3, 1909.
- Cocceius, Johannes. "*Disputationes selectae*." In vol 7 of Opera Omnia Theologia, Exegetica, Didactica, Polemica, Philologica, by Johannes Cocceius. 3rd ed. 10 vols. folio. Amsterdam: P. and J. Blaev, 1701.
- "*Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei with Praefatio*." In vol. 7 of Opera Omnia Theologia, Exegetica, Didactica, Polemica, Philologica, by Johannes Cocceius. 3rd ed. 10 vols. folio. Amsterdam: P. and J. Blaev, 1701.
- "*Summa theologiae ex scripturis repetita with Praefatio*." In vol 7 of Opera Omnia Theologia, Exegetica, Didactica, Polemica, Philologica, by Johannes Cocceius. 3rd ed. 10 vols. folio. Amsterdam: P. and J. Blaev, 1701.
- Cohn, Norman. The Pursuit of the Millenium. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Collins, John J. Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature. Vol. 20 of The Forms of the Old Testament Literature. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1984.
- Commodianus. The Instructions of Commodianus In Favor of Christian Discipline, Against the Gods of the Heathens. Trans. Robert Ernst Wallis. Eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 4. 1885. Reprint. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.
- Core, Arthur C. Philip William Otterbein Pastor Ecumenist. Dayton: The Board of Publication The Evangelical United Brethern Church, 1968.

- Cragg, G. R. The Church and the Age of Reason, 1648-1789. Harmondsworth: Penquin Books, 1966.
- . Reason and Authority in the Eighteenth Century. Cambridge: The University Press, 1964.
- Cullmann, Oscar. Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History. Revised ed. Trans. Floyd V Filson. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964.
- Cullmann, Oscar. Salvation in History. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1967.
- Dillenberger, John, and Claude Welch. Protestant Christianity Interpreted Through its Development. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954.
- Dillistone, Fredrick W. The Structure of the Divine Society. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951.
- Dorner, J. A. History of Protestant Theology, Particularly in Germany, Viewed According to Its Fundamental Movement and in Connection with the Religious, Moral, and Intellectual Life. Trans. George Bobson and Sophia Taylor. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark, 1871.
- Drummond, Andrew Lansdale. German Protestantism Since Luther. London: The Epworth Press, 1951.
- Drury, A. W. A History of the Church of the United Brethern in Christ. Dayton: The Otterbein Press, 1924.
- Dunn, David, et al. A History of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. Philadelphia: Christian Education Press, 1961.
- Elazar, Daniel J. From Biblical Covenant to Modern Federalism: The Federal Theology Bridge. Philadelphia: Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, 1980.
- Emerson, Everett H. "Calvin and Covenant Theology." Church History 25 (1956): 136-144.
- Ensign, Charles D. "Radical German Pietism (1675-1760)." Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1955.
- Eusden, John Dykstra. "Natural Law and Covenant Theology." Natural Law Forum 5 (1960): 1-30
- Eusebius. Church History. Trans. Author Cushman McGiffert. Eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1. 1890. Reprint. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.

- Eusebius. The Oration of Constantine. Trans. Author Cushman McGiffert. Eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1. 1890. Reprint. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.
- The Oration of Eusebius Pamphilus, In Praise of the Emperor Constantine. Trans. Author Cushman McGiffert. Eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1. 1890. Reprint. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.
- Faulenbach, H. "*Die Beurteilung des Cartesianismus und Coccejanismus durch Johannes Pitten*." Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlands 25 (1976): n.p.
- Weg und Ziel der Erkenntnis Christi. Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des Coccejus. Neukirchen: N.p., 1973.
- Forsthoff, (n.i.). "*Der Undereyckische Pietismus und die Wendung zum Separatismus in Mülheim an der Ruhr*." Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlands 10 (1916): n.p.
- Foster, Herbert D. "The Political Theories of Calvinists Before the Puritan Exodus to America." American Historical Review 21 (1916): 481-503.
- "Freedom." Webster's Third International Dictionary.
- "Gallican Confession." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Vol. 4, 1909.
- "Gemüt." Cassel's German-English English-German Dictionary.
- "Geneva Catechism." The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed.
- Gerdes, Egon. "Pietism: Classical and Modern." Concordia Theological Monthly 39 (1968): n.p.
- Goebel, Max. Geschichte des christliche Lebens in der rheinisch-westphalischen Kirche. 3 vols. 1852. Reprint. Basel: Coblentz, 1992.
- Goeters, W. Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der reformierten Kirche der Niederlande bis zur Labadistischen Krisen 1670. Leipzig: N.p., 1911.
- Goldingay, John E. Daniel. Ed. David A. Hubbard and Glenn W. Barker. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 30. Dallas: Word Books, 1989.
- Good, James I. History of the Reformed Church of Germany 1620-1890. Reading: Daniel Miller, 1894.
- González, Justo L. A History of Christian Thought. 2 vols. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1992.

- Graffmann, Heinrich. "*Der Unterricht nach dem Heidelberger Katechismus im Zeitalter der Orthodoxie und des Pietismus mit besonderem Blick auf Rheinland und Westfalen.*" Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlands 9 (1960): n.p.
- Grant, Robert M. "The Origin of the Fourth Gospel." Journal of Biblical Literature 69 (Dec. 1950): 305-322.
- Harbaugh, Henry. The Fathers of the German Reformed Church in Europe and America. 2 vols. Lancaster: Spenger and Westhaeffer, 1857.
- Harbison, E. Harris. Christianity and History. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.
- Helm, Paul. "Calvin and the Covenant: Unity and Continuity." The Evangelical Quarterly 55 (1983): 65-81.
- Heppe, Heinrich. Geschichte des Pietismus und der Mystik in der reformierten Kirche. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1879.
- , Reformed Dogmatics Set Out and Illustrated from the Sources. Trans. G. T. Thomson. Ed. Ernst Bizer. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1950.
- Hoekema, Anthony A. "Calvin's Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace." Reformed Review 15 (1962): 1-12.
- , "The Covenant of Grace in Calvin's teaching." Calvin Theological Journal 2 (1967): 133-161.
- Holborn, Hajo. A History of Modern Germany (1648-1840). 1964. Reprint. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Hottinger, John Jacob, and Friedrich Adolph Lampe. Pentae Dissertationum Biblico-Chronologicarum. N.p.: Jacobum and Poolsum, 1723.
- Hurst, John F. History of Rationalism. New York: Philips and Hunt, 1865.
- "Images." The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia. 1915 ed.
- "Intention." Webster's Third International Dictionary.
- Irenaeus. Against Heresies. Trans. and eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1. 1885. Reprint. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.
- Jansen, John Frederick. Calvin's Doctrine of the Work of Christ. London: James Clark, 1956.

Jocz, Jakob. The Covenant: A Theology of Human Destiny. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1968.

Johnston, Robert M. "The Eschatological Sabbath in John's Apocalypse: A Reconsideration." Andrews University Seminary Studies 25, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 39-50.

Kantzenbach, F. W. Orthodoxie und Pietismus. Gütersloh: N.p., 1966.

Karlberg, Mark Walter. "The Mosaic Covenant and the Concept of Works in Reformed Hermeneutics: A Historical-Critical Analysis, with Particular Attention to Early Covenant Eschatology." Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1980.

Kidd, B. J. ed. Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

Kohl, Manfred Waldemar. "Studies in Pietism. A Biographical Survey of Research Since 1858-59." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1969.

Kurfess, Alfons. "*Kaiser Konstantin und die Erythäische Sybille*." Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 4 (1952):42-56.

Lactantius. The Divine Institutes. Trans. William Fletcher. Eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 7. 1886. Reprint. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.

Lampe, Friedrich Adolph. Geheimnis des Gnadenbundes. 6 vols. Bremen: Philip Gottfried Saurmann, 1712-1719.

----- Milch der Wahrheit, nach Anleitung des Heidelbergischen Catechismi. Bremen: Diedrich Meier, 1787.

"Lampe." The New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia. Vol. 6, 1910.

Lang, August. Puritanismus und Pietismus. Neukirchen: Kries Moers, 1941.

Lattourette, Kenneth Scott. A History of Christianity. 2 vols. New York: Harper and Row, 1975.

Littel, Franklin H. The Orgins of Sectarian Protestantism. New York: Macmillan, 1964.

Lucus, Ernest C. "The Orgin of Daniel's Four Empires Scheme Reexamined." Tyndale Bulletin 40, no. 2 (1989): 185-202.

- Macchia, Frank D. Spirituality and Social Liberation The Message of the Blumhardts in the Light of Wuertemberg Pietism. Pietist and Wesleyan Studies, no. 4. Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1993.
- Martin, James P. The Last Judgment in Protestant Theology from Orthodoxy to Ritschl. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1963.
- McCoy, Charles Sherwood. The Covenant Theology of Johannes Cocceius. Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1956. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1957. 65-1962.
- , and J. Wayne Baker. Fountainhead of Federalism, Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenantal Tradition. Louisville: John Knox Press, 1991.
- McGinn, B. "The Abbot and the Doctors: Scholastic Reactions to the Radical Eschatology of Joachim of Flore," Church History 40 (1971): 30-47.
- McGiffert, A. C. Protestant Thought Before Kant. New York: Scribner, 1936.
- McNeill, John T. The History and Character of Calvinism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Miller, Charles. "The Spread of Calvinism in Switzerland, Germany and France." In The Rise and Development of Calvinism. Ed. John H. Bratt. pp. 27-62. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1959.
- Möller, Grete. "Föderalismus und Geschichtsbetrachtung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert." Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 50 (1931): 292-440.
- Moltmann, Jürgen. "Geschichtstheologie und pietistisches Menschenbild bei J. Coccejus und Th. Untereyck." Evangelia Theologica 19 (1959): n.p.
- , "Grundzüge mystischer Theologie bei Gerhard Tersteegen." Evangelia Theologica 16 (1956): n.p.
- , Hope and Planning. Trans. Margaret Clarkson. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- , "Jacob Brocard als Vorläufer der Reich Gottes-Theologie und der symbolisch-prophetischen Schriftauslegung." Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 71 (1960): 110-129.
- , "Theology and the Future of the Modern World." Plenary Address Sponsored by the Association of Theological Schools at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion/Society of Biblical Literature. Chicago: The Association of Theological Schools, 1994.
- , Theology of Hope. Trans. James Keitch. New York: N.p., 1967.

- Moltmann, Jürgen. The Trinity and the Kingdom. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981.
- Mulholland, Jr., M. Robert. Holy Living in an Unholy World Revelation. Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1990.
- Nagler, Author. Pietism and Methodism. Nashville: Publishing House M. E. Church, South, 1918.
- Namowicz, Tadeusz. "*Pietismus in der duetschen Kultur des 18. Jahrhunderts.*" *Bemerkungen zur Pietismusforschung*. Weimarer Beitrage 13 (1967): n.p.
- Nicholson, O. P. "The Sources of the Dates in Lactantius' Divine Institutes." The Journal of Theological Studies 36, no. 2 (1985): 291-310.
- Niebuhr, Reinhold. Faith and History, a Comparison of Christian and Modern Views of History. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949.
- . The Nature and Destiny of Man. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard. The Meaning of Revelation. New York: Macmillan, 1941.
- Niethammer, L. Ist die Geschichte zu Ende? Hamburg: N.p., 1989.
- Nobbs, Douglas. Theocracy and Toleration: A Study of the Disputes in Dutch Calvinism from 1600-1650. Cambridge: The University Press, 1938.
- Oakley, Francis. Omnipotence, Covenant, and Order: An Excursion in the History of Ideas from Abelard to Leibniz. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Obermann, Heiko. The Harvest of Medieval Theology. Cambridge: N.p., 1963.
- Oden, Thomas C. The Word of Life. Vol. 2 of Systematic Theology. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1992.
- "Oecolampadius, Johannes." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Vol. 8, 1909.
- O'Malley, J. Steven. Pilgrimage of Faith: The Legacy of the Otterbeins. Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1973.
- . "The Role of Pietism in the Theology of Jürgen Moltmann." The Asbury Journal 48, no.1 (Spring 1993): 121-127.

- O'Malley, J. Steven. "Wayfaring and Warfaring: Pietist Sources on Discipleship and Sanctification Influential in Early German-American Evangelism." Photocopy. 1992.
- Origen. *De Principiis*. Trans. Frederick Crombie. Eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 4. 1885. Reprint. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.
- Pauck, Wilhelm. *The Heritage of the Reformation*. Glencoe: Free Press, 1950.
- Paul, Roberts S. "The Covenant in Church History." *Austin Seminary Bulletin* 96 (March 1981): 38-50.
- Pelikan, Jarsolav. *From Luther to Kierkegaard*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1950.
- "Philip II." *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed.
- Pinson, Koppel S. *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.
- Preus, James Samuel. *From Shadow to Promise: Old Testament Interpretation from Augustine to Luther*. Cambridge; Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1969.
- Prozesky, M. H. "The Emergence of Dutch Pietism." *Journal of Evangelical History* 28 (1977): 29-37.
- Quistrop, Heinrich. *Calvin's Doctrine of the last Things*. Trans. Harold Knight. N.p: N.p, 1955.
- Reeves, Majorie. *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future*. London: SPCK, 1976.
- , *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages, A Study in Joachimism*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969.
- "Remonstrants." *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. Vol. 9, 1909.
- Richardson, Alan. *The Bible in the Age of Science*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961.
- Riggle, H. M. *The Kingdom of God and the One Thousand Years' Reign*. Guthrie: Faith Publishing House, 1899.
- Riley, Patrick "Three 17th Century German Theorists of Federalism: Althusius, Hugo and Leibniz." *Publius* 6 (1976):7-41.
- Ritschl, Albrecht. *Geschichte des Pietismus*. 3 vols. Bonn: Adolph Marcus Co., 1880, 1884, 1886.

- Rolston III, Holmes. John Calvin Verses the Wetminster Confession. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1972.
- Roos, Magnus Frederic. An Exposition of the Prophecies of Daniel. Trans. Ebenezer Henderson. Edinburgh: J. and J. Robertson, 1811.
- Rössle, Julius. Zeugen und Zeugnisse: Die Väter des rheinisch-westpjalischen Pietismus. Konstanz: Christlich Verlagsanstalt, 1968.
- Rothert, H. Der kirchliche Wiederaufbau nach dem 30 jährigen Kriege. Gütersloh: N.p., 1924.
- Schaff, Philip. The History of the Christian Church. 8 vols. 1910. Reprint. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1994.
- Schmidt, M. "Der Pietismus in Nordwestdeutschland." Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische kirchengeschichte 70 (1972): n.p.
- "Verhör des Predigers Reiner Copper zu Duisberg." Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlands 35 (1941): n.p.
- Schodde, George. The Protestant Church in Germany. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1901.
- Schrenk, Gottlob. Gottesreich und Bund im Alteren Protestantismus. Gutersloh: Gutersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1923.
- Shankel, George Edgar. God and Man in History. Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1967.
- Slagboom, D. Jodocus van Lodenstein. Utrecht: N.p., 1966.
- Snijders, Gerrit. Friedrich Adolph Lampe. Harderwijk: Drukkerij Flevo v. h. Gebr. Moorij, 1954.
- "Friedrich Adolph Lampe ein deutscher reformierter Theologe in Holland." Hospitium Ecclesiae Forschungen zur bremischen Kirchengeschichte 3 (1961): 85-92.
- Spener, Philip Jacob. Pia Desideria, Trans. and Ed. Theodore G. Tappert. N.p.: Fortress Press, 1964.
- Steinmetz, David C. "Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575): Covenant and the Continuity of Salvation History." In Reformers in the Wings. Ed. David C. Steinmetz. pp. 133-142. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.

- Stevenson, J., ed. A New Eusebius Documents Illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337. Revised ed. London: SPCK, 1992.
- Stoeffler, F. Ernest. Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1976.
- German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century. Studies in the History of Religions, vol. 24. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973.
- The Rise of Evangelical Pietism. Studies in the History of Religion, vol. IX. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973.
- Strayer, Joseph R., and Hans W Gatzke., eds. The Mainstream of Civilization. 3rd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.
- Strehle, Stephen. Calvinism, Federalism, and Scholasticism: A Study of the Reformed Doctrine of Covenant. Ph.D. diss., University of Basel, 1986. New York: Peter Lang, 1988.
- Sykes, Norman. The Crises of the Reformation. London: Centenary Press, 1946.
- "Synod of Dort." The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed.
- Tanis, James. Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies A Study in the Life and Theology of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967.
- Tanis, James. "The Heidelberg Catechism in the Hands of the Calvinistic Pietists." Reformed Review 24, no. 3 (Spring 1971): n.p.
- "Testament." Webster's Third International Dictionary.
- The Heidelberg Catechism. 1563. Reprint. Cleveland: United Church Press, 1963.
- Thelemann, Otto. Friedrich Adolph Lampe, Sein Leben und seine Theologie. Bielefeld and Leipzig: Belhagen and Klasing, 1868.
- The New Revised Standard Bible. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990.
- Tholuck, A. Das akademische Leben des 17. Jahrhunderts. Vol. 2. Halle: N.p., 1853/54.
- Das kirchliche Leben des 17. Jahrhunderts. Vol. 1. Berlin: N.p., 1861.
- Thompson, Bard, et al. Essays on the Heidelberg Catechism. Philadelphia and Boston: United Church Press, 1963.
- trans. "The Palatinate Liturgy." Theology and Life 6, no. 1 (Spring, 1963): 49-67.

- Tillich, Paul. The Protestant Era. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Toland, John. Christianity Not Mysterious. New York: Garland Publications, 1978.
- Torrance, Thomas F. Calvin's Doctrine of Man. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1957.
- . Kingdom and Church. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956.
- . The School of Faith The Catechisms of the Reformed Church. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1959.
- Van der Aa, A. J. Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden. Harlem: n.p., 1852.
- Vaucher, Félix. "Les 1260 Jours Prophétiques Dans Les Cercles Joachimites." Andrews University Seminary Studies 3, no. 1 (1965): 42-48.
- Veeck, O. "Die Anfänge des Pietismus in Bremen." Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 25 (1904): 291-307.
- . Geschichte der reformierten kirche Bremens. Bremen: N.p., 1909.
- Vitringa, Campegius. Aphorismi, quibus Fundamenta Theol. Comprehenduntur. Ed. Alexander Schweizer. Die Glaubenslehre de Evangelisch-Reformierten Kirche Dargestellt und aus den Quellen Belegt. Zurich: Orell, Fussli and Co., 1844.
- "Voetius." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Vol. 12, 1912.
- Ward, W. Reginald. The Protestant Evangelical Awakening. Cambridge: The University Press, 1992.
- Weber, Emil. Reformation, Orthodoxie, und Rationalismus. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966.
- Weborg, C. John. "The Eschatological Ethic of Johann Albrecht Bengel." The Covenant Quarterly (May, 1978): n.p.
- Wendel, François. Calvin Origins and Development of His Religious Thought. Trans. Philip Mairet. 1950. Reprint. Durham: The Labyrinth Press, 1987.
- Wenig, O. Rationalismus und Erweckungsbewegung in Bremen. Bonn: N.p., 1966.
- West, Delno C., and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz. Joachim of Fiore A Study in Spiritual Perception and History. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983.

Wing, C. P. "Federal Theology." Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature 3 (1894):515-520.

Wood, H G., et al. The Kingdom of God and History. New York: Willet Clark and Co., 1938.

Wright III, Benjamin G. "Cerinthus Apud Hippolytus: An Inquiry into the Traditions about Cerinthus' Provenance." The Second Century 4, no. 2 (1984): 103-115.

Zeller, Winfried. Der Protestantismus des 17. Jahrhunderts. Bremen: N.p., 1962.

Ziff, Larzer. "The Social Bond of Church Covenant." American Quarterly 10 (1958): 454-462.